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NAME OF AUTHOR/NOM DE L'AUTEUR Leo W. BERTLEY

TITLE OF THESIS/TITRE DE LA THÈSE The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal 1917-1979

UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ Concordia U.

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE Ph. D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE DEGRÉ 1980

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE Professor Cameron Nish

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THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL, 1917-1979

Leo W. Bertley

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montreal, Québec, Canada

March, 1980

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT

THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL, 1917-1979

Leo W. Bertley, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 1980

On August 1, 1914, a young Jamaican named Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Kingston, Jamaica. Previous to that date, Garvey had travelled extensively in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe, and was appalled by the misery and suffering which people of African descent had been experiencing regardless of the country he visited. He had also spoken to people who had lived and travelled in other countries. They reported that conditions in those areas were no better than those which Garvey had seen for himself. The latter hoped to improve the lot of black people through this association.

Between 1916 and 1924 this organization grew rapidly. The U.S.A., which Garvey entered for the first time on March 23, 1916, became the centre. He travelled extensively in that country, visiting 38 of the 48 states, and he saw that there was need for his organization. He also came to Montreal, sometime in 1917, and he was warmly received by the Blacks of this city.

Partly as a result of his visit, but largely due to the initiative taken by leaders of another black organization which

had already been established in Montreal, a division of the UNIA was founded in this city. The official birthdate is given as June 9, 1919, although there was, for all practical purposes, a well developed form of Garveyism existing here at least two years previous to that date.

The Montreal Division developed rapidly. During its early years its following increased geometrically, reaching its peak in 1921. This coincided with the glory years of the organization as a whole when it was free from all the difficulties which, later on, beset it and helped to reduce its size and influence to its present weakness.

During its heyday and for many years afterwards, the Montreal UNIA wielded great influence among people of African descent in this city. Through its many units, meetings, social, educational, and recreational activities, it afforded many opportunities to Black Montrealers to fill the wide voids which existed in their lives. Above all, it made them feel that they were worthy descendants of a great heritage so that their self esteem increased at the expense of an inferiority complex.

This division was also active at the international level of the organization. It participated in the important conventions, starting with the first in 1920. This role is continued to the present day. With its Toronto counterpart, it provided the means whereby Garvey, after his deportation from the U.S., was able to keep in physical contact with his large following in that country.

It helped to sustain Amy Jacques Garvey and her children during that period of great sorrow and even greater economic hardship following the death of the organization's founder and husband of that famous lady. Finally, the Montreal Division played a significant role in saving the UNIA from destruction which seemed inevitable as a result of the policies and practices of James R. Stewart, the man elected to succeed Garvey.

The Montreal Division of the UNIA, therefore, was established early in the history of the organization, contributed a great deal to its development and, at the same time, it played important roles in the lives of Black Montrealers. This thesis, an aspect of the social history of this city as well as a study of the UNIA from the perspective of one of its divisions, is an attempt to bring the work and significance of these Montreal Garveyites to the attention of scholars and others interested in this aspect of the social sciences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the following people and institutions who helped to make the completion of this study possible.

First of all, I pay tribute to all those people of African descent who graciously consented to allow me to interview them. Their names have been recorded under the bibliographic heading, "Primary Oral", and will not be repeated here. I would like to single out Messers E.J. Tucker and H.J. Langdon, however. Not only did they grant me several interviews but, as active members of the UNIA to this day, they encouraged me to complete this thesis at times when frustration almost made me give up.

Secondly, my debt to my advisor and supervisor, Professor Cameron Nish, cannot be repaid. He was patient, understanding, and kind. His insistence on high academic standards and scholarship never faltered. Whatever strength that this thesis has in those areas is due largely to his sympathetic but firm critiques.

Thirdly, my wife, June, patiently proof-read the manuscript. This tedious but most important function was done with utmost care.

As far as institutions are concerned, I am grateful to the Canada Council, Ottawa, and to the UNIA organizations in several areas of the U.S. and Jamaica. The Canada Council was generous enough to grant me Doctoral Fellowships, while the UNIA units provided information and encouragement.

The shortcomings and weaknesses in this work are completely my responsibility.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout this thesis. Their explanations follow each one. Please note that the period at the end of an abbreviation is frequently omitted.

ACHA.- African Canadian Historical Association.

ARF - African Redemption Fund.

AJG - Amy Jacques Garvey.

BCNS - Universal African Black Cross Nurses Society.

BBNB - Boys' Band Note Book.

BBCF - Boys' Band Committee File.

C File - Convention File.

Dip File - Diplomatic File.

Death File - Death of Marcus Garvey File.

Ed File - Education File.

Festac 77 - Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture.

FRC - First Regional Conference.

HF or HF. - History File.

Ins. File - Insurance File.

Inc. File - Incorporation File.

IAFE - International African Friends of Ethiopia.

IFE - International Friends of Ethiopia.

LC - Literary Club.

MB - Minutes Book.

MF - Membership File.

MCF - Membership Certificate File.

MSCRC - Montreal and Southern Counties Railway Company.

MRF - Monthly Report File and Statements.

NARC - North American Regional Conference.

Prop. F - Property File.

P and A - Programmes and Agenda.

P and E - Picnic and Excursion.

P and F - Pamphlets and Flyers.

Rehab Comm - Rehabilitating Committee.

S and C - Social and Charitable.

SEC - Social and Economic.

SMM - Sunday Mass Meeting.

SRC - Second Regional Conference.

UNIA - Universal Negro Improvement Association.

UAL - Universal African Legion.

UAMC - Universal African Motor Corps.

UNYA - Universal Negro Youth Administration.

INTRODUCTION

The origins of this thesis can be traced back to the winter of 1964 when I met Mr. E.J. Tucker for the first time.[1] This meeting took place in a barber shop which was owned by Albert Sandiford and which was located on St. Antoine Street between Atwater Avenue and Vinet Street. At that time, the locality was still regarded as the centre of Montreal's small black ghetto, even though many people of African descent had already begun to move out to the suburbs and other parts of metropolitan Montreal.

Sandiford's barber shop was a veritable community centre to which black Montreal males, especially those with a West Indian background, gravitated, whether or not they were in need of a hair cut or any other service offered in that establishment. The main attraction was companionship which was made more appealing by the many discussions and arguments which took place there. Almost every topic, ranging from sports to problems faced by Blacks throughout the world, was thoroughly

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[1] My interest in Black Studies, under which this thesis can be classified, go back to my early childhood. My parents told me stories about their background. My mother always related interesting stories about her paternal grandfather, Pa Bilongo, who came directly to Trinidad from Nigeria. He was a Yoruba. She knew him very well as she was a teenager when he died. My father's people fought on the side of the British during the War of 1812, and came to Trinidad shortly after the conclusion of that conflict.

debated to the delight and, sometimes, the edification of participants and audience.

It was after one such session, in which I participated, that Mr. Tucker introduced himself to me. He turned out to be the elderly gentleman who was a frequent visitor to the barber shop, who always listened intently but seldom said anything. He invited me to address "the organization", as he usually called the Montreal Division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League,[2] on a topic of my choosing.

At that time, my knowledge of the UNIA and its founder, Marcus Garvey, was rather sketchy. As a young boy in my native Trinidad, I did hear my father and his black nationalist relative[3] mention the name of Garvey and that of his second wife, Amy Jacques, during their many conversations. If memory serves me right, the references were always positive and, somehow, related to Tubal Uriah Buzz Butler.

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[2] Hereafter abbreviated as UNIA.

[3] Cousin Johnny, as my brothers and sister called him, loaned me the first Black Studies book which I read. It was Up From Slavery, the autobiography of Booker T. Washington. At the time I was in my early teens. Cousin Johnny was an ardent black nationalist. He believed firmly that black people must have black leaders, especially with regards to religion. Partly as a result of this, he spent a considerable sum of his own money to help establish the Ethiopian Coptic Church in parts of southern Trinidad, breaking with the R.C. Church in the process. In spite of his reputation for being parsimonious, he continued to give generously to such institutions. Some Negroes laughed at him and, mockingly, called him, when his back was turned, the "Coptic Bishop".

Butler was born in Grenada, a former British West Indian island approximately 100 miles to the north of Trinidad. He had succeeded in unionizing the workers in both the petroleum and sugar industries of his adopted land, and had organized a general strike for better wages and working conditions in 1937. This work stoppage, together with management's reaction to it, led to considerable disturbances culminating in loss of lives and the dispatch of British military might to suppress it.[4] Butler was arrested and imprisoned, thereby earning the mantle of martyrdom and, at the same time, becoming a folk hero to the people of Trinidad, especially those of African descent including my parents and Cousin Johnny.

As an undergraduate at Mc Gill University, Montreal, I got to know Julius Garvey, the second of two sons of Amy Jacques and Marcus Garvey. Julius and I held many discussions on the condition of black people, considering, on occasions, ways and means of alleviating the situation. This should have afforded me an excellent opportunity to learn something about Marcus Garvey and the UNIA. Julius, however, seemed reluctant to speak about his father and the organization founded by him. I got the distinct impression that it pained him to recall the bitter experience which his mother, brother and himself had suffered as a result of his father's activities on behalf of people of African descent.

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[4]Eric Williams, History of the Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago, pp. 234-238, discusses the so-called "Butler Riots".

If my knowledge of the UNIA was sketchy, I was totally ignorant of the fact that it had branches everywhere in the world, including Canada. Sensing my ignorance, Mr. Tucker took me to see the external manifestation of its existence in Montreal. This was a large three-storied building (or, more accurately, a building complex) situated at the corner of Fulford[5] and St. James Streets. Mr. Tucker, who lived in one of the apartments of this building, brought me a well-used copy of the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey. The manner in which he loaned it to me suggested very strongly that I acquaint myself with the teachings of this influential black man. I was rather pleased with this gesture on his part, because such a book was not readily available at that time.

Mr. Tucker was proud to inform me that the Montreal Division was the sole owner of the property, both land and building. He was even happier to emphasize that it was bought from the "pennies, nickles, and dimes" which black people were able to save from their very small salaries. This, in his opinion, was the result of an adherence to the teachings of Marcus Garvey.

After this dramatic introduction to the Montreal Division, I agreed to address "the organization" on Sunday,

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[5]The name has been changed to Georges Vanier Boulevard in honour of the first French Canadian to be appointed Governor General of this country. From now on, only the new name will be used.

January 17, 1965, in Liberty Hall.[6] I spoke on the education of black children in the public primary and secondary schools of the city. I pointed out the difficulties which many of them faced and the negative results these had on their educational achievement and personality development. I felt qualified to speak on this subject since I had been a teacher in the public system for some time and many of my friends were also similarly employed. We saw what was taking place from the inside. During the question period, I was challenged to take steps to remedy the situation. I accepted and proceeded to establish remedial classes in Liberty Hall on Saturday mornings from 9.00 to noon.

As a result of my part in this educational programme, I became more closely associated with members of the UNIA, especially Messers E.J. Tucker and H.J. Langdon. From conversations I came to realize that the association once wielded considerable influence in the small black community of Montreal. I later discovered that documents to prove this existed, and that veteran members would be prepared to grant interviews to supplement the information available in print. I decided to use the written sources, in conjuntion with their oral counter-

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[6]This is the name given to the headquarters of all UNIA divisions. The first Liberty Hall was dedicated in New York City on July 29, 1919. It became one of the shrines for many veteran Garveyites.

part, to produce an historical study of this organization. The result is this thesis.

When the UNIA was at its height in the early 1920's, it was an international institution which profoundly influenced the lives of people of African descent. Its importance can partly be gauged from the fact that colonial governments, such as Britain and France, took stringent measures to suppress it in any of their colonies which had a large black population. The U.S.A., with its large minority of black people, felt concerned enough to undermine the UNIA and reduce its influence in areas where its interests were threatened. Liberia is a good example of such a case outside the Americas. Today, the organization is only a shadow of its former self, carrying out activities consistent with its limited means and, on occasions, trying to recapture some of its lost glory.

In spite of its greatly reduced stature, however, the UNIA can still lay claim to being a truly international organization. It has functioning branches in major American cities including New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, as well as in Montreal and Toronto, Canada, and in Kingston, Jamaica. A new division was established in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1977, and present thinking calls for the establishment of units on campuses with predominantly black student enrolment. Perhaps, even more significantly as far as its international stature is concerned, its President General has

been received as a head of state both in Africa and in the Caribbean.

The UNIA and its founder have attracted the attention of several scholars and writers, especially during the last two decades. For the most part, these studies tend to be biographical, with Garvey as the major subject. This is not hard to understand because he was a most dynamic, charismatic, and, in a sense, highly successful black leader. As a result, people would be interested in getting to know the man, what drove him on to pursue his goals with such uncompromising zeal and dedication.

The international aspects of the organization and its basic philosophy and programmes have also received their share of attention. This, once again, is understandable. It was at that level that the glamour, intrigue, and major decision-making apparatus of the UNIA were to be found. Finally, on this point, the overwhelming majority of studies concentrate on the early history of the UNIA. Very little, dealing with it after Garvey's death in 1940, can be found in the literature.

The above suggests that there are serious gaps in the literature on the UNIA and Marcus Garvey. These include studies on individual divisions and the manner in which the organization was able to survive the death of Garvey. The seriousness of the first lacuna becomes more evident when it is borne in mind that, at one point in its history, there were 1,200 chartered divisions throughout the world, with 15 in Canada. There were also

31 applications pending.

For a better understanding of the edifice which was the UNIA, it is necessary to study as many of the bricks which went into its construction as possible. This is particularly important as the international character of the bricks must have resulted in a wide variety and this, in turn, must have had some significant effect in producing the over-all structure. It is the purpose of this thesis to study one of these bricks, the Montreal Division of the UNIA.

Further justification for this thesis lies in the fact that Montreal, along with Toronto, played significant roles in the life of the organization. From its first international convention in 1920 to the most recent which was convened in August, 1979, the Montreal Division made its influence felt by active and constructive participation.

This role was particularly crucial between Garvey's deportation from the U.S.A. and his death. The Montrealers, with their Toronto counterparts, often served as links between the President General and his American following. The high point was reached in 1938 when Toronto, with the assistance of Montreal, hosted the eighth international convention. This, coincidentally, was the last such event before Garvey died. Finally, the Montreal Division played a crucial role in saving the organization from disintegration after the death of Garvey and the disruptive antics of his successor, James R.

Stewart.

It is now left to show the relevance of this thesis to the history of Montreal and of Canada. To do so, it must first be recalled that social scientists describe Canadian society as a mosaic in contrast to the melting pot which, allegedly, obtains in the U.S.A. Although people of African descent constitute a small part of the mosaic, they are, nevertheless, of some importance and deserve to be studied. In the past, they have suffered from neglect, benign or otherwise, at the hands of social scientists. In order to get a deeper understanding of Canadian society, it is absolutely necessary to study all the elements which go to make up that society. Each one, however small, has contributed to the whole. As St. Paul wrote, some two thousand years ago, "the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body." He continued, "the parts of the body which seem to be weaker are indispensable."[7]

And so it is with Canada, a multi-racial, multi-cultural nation. There are many studies on the stronger parts of the Canadian body, but relatively few on one member, i.e. its people of African descent. It is hoped that this thesis would, in some little way, help to improve this situation by making some contribution to the social history of Montreal, Quebec, and Canada.

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[7] "First Corinthians," Chap. 13, Verses 12-24, The Bible.

CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION AND AFRICAN COMMUNITIES' LEAGUE

According to Wilfred Emmerson Israel, one of the few scholars to pay some attention to the history of Blacks in Montreal, the UNIA "came to Montreal in the winter of 1917" in the person of Marcus Garvey who addressed a meeting that year in a hall located on Chatham Street.[1] This date was partially confirmed in an interview with Mr. E. J. Tucker who, at 90 years of age, is one of the oldest surviving members of the UNIA division in this city. Mr. Tucker became associated with the organization as a result of Garvey's inspiring lecture.[2]

Although the association "came" to the city that year, the Montreal Division considers June 9, 1919, as its official birthday. This is the date given in a statement issued by its executive in May, 1929. The communique was intended to correct

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[1] Wilfred Emmerson Israel, The Montreal Negro Community, unpublished M.A. thesis, Mc Gill University, 1928, p. 111. Israel does not support his claim with documentation. It does seem, however, that he based it, as well as other parts of his work, on interviews with members of Montreal's black community.

[2] Mr. Tucker does not remember the precise date of Garvey's lecture, but does recall that World War I was still raging in Europe. Mr. Tucker was interviewed on several occasions over the last few years.

the "general misconception" which had become "prevalent in Montreal concerning the Universal Negro Improvement Association and its programme."[3] Before going too deeply into the founding of this organization in Montreal, a general account of the early history of its Parent Body will be attempted.

The UNIA was officially founded in Kingston, Jamaica, on August 1, 1914.[4] Marcus Garvey, who headed the organization until his death in London, England, on June 10, 1940, was elected President and Travelling Commissioner at the inaugural meeting. Other elected officers were Thomas Smikle, Vice President, Eva Aldred, President of the Ladies' Division and T. A. McCormack, General Secretary. Also chosen on that day was a Board of Management consisting of 18 persons. Among the members of this board were the executive officers, Adrian A. Daily, Amy Ashwood, and Mr. and Mrs. A. Peart.[5]

The aims and objectives of the UNIA were put into two categories entitled "General Objects" and "Local (Jamaica)

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[3]May, 1929, Executive Statement, History File (hereafter abbreviated as HF) 1, ACHA Archives.

[4]E. David Cronon, ed., Great Lives Observed Marcus Garvey, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1973, p. 24. The rest of this paragraph is based on the original manifesto of the UNIA which is found on p. 24 of this book.

[5]Mrs. Peart was Garvey's only sister. Amy Ashwood became the first wife of Marcus Garvey on December 25, 1919. Adrian Daily was the uncle of Iris Lucille Patterson, a veteran Garveyite whom I interviewed in Jamaica in August 1978.

Objects". The former dealt with people of African descent in general, while the latter, which expressed essentially the same ideas, was restricted to Jamaica.

The founders called for the establishment of an international brotherhood among black people everywhere, as well as for the promotion of pride and love of race. They pledged themselves to uplift "the fallen of the race," to bring help to the needy, and to make available to the "backward tribes of Africa" the benefits of western civilization and of Christianity.[6]

To achieve these goals, the UNIA committed itself to the establishment of educational institutions of all levels among people of African descent. It also pledged to strengthen Liberia and Ethiopia, the only African countries which, at the time, enjoyed some measure of independence from western European imperialist nations. In addition, it promised to organize diplomatic offices in the major capitals of the world where black people were to be found. These legations were to have, as an important part of their function, the protection of these people where necessary. Finally, an international network of commercial and industrial enterprises were to be organized partly to defray the cost of these grandiose plans.[7]

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[6] Cronon, Great Lives Observed Marcus Garvey, p. 24.

[7] Ibid.

To understand the reasons behind the concern which the UNIA, from its inception, expressed over the plight of black people everywhere, it is necessary to delve a little more deeply into the circumstances and background which gave rise to the organization. This, in turn, means focussing the spotlight on its founder and guiding spirit, Marcus Mosiah Garvey.[8]

He was born on August 17, 1887, at St. Ann's Bay, a small agricultural town on the northern coast of Jamaica, approximately 42 miles northeast of Kingston. His father was said to have been a proud black man who traced his ancestry to the Maroons. The latter were the descendants of African slaves who escaped from the slaveholders before Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards by the British in 1655. They subsequently established their own societies in the mountain fastness of the island, successfully defying all attempts by the Spanish and, later, the British, to suppress them.[9] His mother was described as a humble, long-suffering, and deeply religious person who bore eleven children, Marcus being the

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[8] Edmund David Cronon, Black Moses The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Madison, Wilwaukee, and London, U. of Wisonsin Press, 1968, p. 44.

[9] R. C. Dallas, The History of the Maroons, Vols. 1 and 2, London, 1803, is still, perhaps, the best account of these freedom-loving people of African descent.

youngest.[10]

Garvey attended the elementary school of St. Ann's Bay. It is not certain, however, whether or not he was a student of the town's secondary school or, at one stage, a pupil teacher.[11] According to his own account of this stage in his life, he was taught by "private tutors" and in "two public schools, two grammar or high schools and two colleges."[12] From all appearances, however, the most important educational forces to mold the mind and character of Marcus Garvey were the atmosphere of learning, which pervaded the homes in which he lived, and the influential personalities he encountered as he grew to adulthood.

His father was said to have had an insatiable thirst for knowledge. As a result, he had built up an extensive pri-

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[10] Amy Jacques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, London, Collier-Macmillan, 1970, p. 2. Mrs. Garvey's account is based partly on oral testimony of people who knew the Garveys. Amy Jacques is the second wife of Marcus Garvey. He was divorced from Amy Ashwood on June 15, 1922.

[11] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 7. Cronon's account is based on A.J. Garvey and on Claude McKay, Harlem:Negro Metropolis, New York, Dutton, 1940.

[12] Marcus Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," in Amy Jacques-Garvey, ed., Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey (hereafter abbreviated as Phil. and Opin.) Vol. 2, p. 124. It is important to note that much of the biographical material on the early life of Marcus Garvey is based on the writings of Garvey himself. The reader must, therefore, handle such information with care, verifying it with other data as much as possible.

vate library which he had apparently put to good use. His widespread learning earned for him recognition as the community's sage to whom the people of the area came for advice and information.[13] He was also a man of principle who would rather lose material possessions than compromise when he felt that he was in the right. This may seem to many people to be impractical. His second daughter-in-law called it "unreasonable stubbornness."[14] As far as the people of St. Ann's Bay were concerned, this contributed to the charisma of "Mr. Garvey", as everyone in the community, his wife included, called this enigmatic figure. The title was a measure of the respect they accorded him.[15]

Marcus Garvey wrote that he admired his father for his "brilliant intellect and dashing courage."[16] This admiration was reflected in the manner that the young Marcus imitated his father, especially with respect to increasing his knowledge. From an early age, Marcus made great use of his father's library. Later on he would reveal that force of character (or was

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[13] Amy Jacques Garvey, "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," in John Henrik Clarke, ed., Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa, New York, Vintage Books, 1974, p. 30.

[14] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 3.

[15] "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," Op. Cit., p. 30. A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 2.

[16] Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, p. 124. While this may very well have been true, it must be borne in mind that Garvey was indulging in nostalgia when he wrote these opinions.

it "unreasonable stubbornness"?), courage, sense of conviction and charisma which his father had displayed.

While he was a teenager, Marcus was sent to live with his godfather who was a well-established printer in St. Ann's Bay. It was hoped that he would learn the printing trade from Mr. Burrowes, as his godfather was called. This was a very important development in the life of Marcus Garvey because, in addition to learning the rudiments of the trade, he was introduced to journalism. Both would be invaluable to him as he undertook his self-appointed task of leading black people to his promised land. Equally as significant was the fact that Mr. Burrowes also possessed a fine library of books, magazines, and old newspapers which Marcus studied in his spare time.[17]

There was another aspect of Mr. Burrowes and his establishment which proved of great value to the budding career of Marcus Garvey. The printing shop served as a seminar centre to which people would come to discuss various subjects of particular interests to black nationalists. The range of topics included slavery, especially slave resistance, and other matters pertaining to what is now called Black History. During these sessions Garvey got his first real taste of the significance of early black Jamaican leaders such as Cudjoe,

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[17] "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," Op. Cit., p. 32. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 11. A.J. Garvey puts Marcus' age at 15, while Cronon said that he was 14. Garvey wrote "at an early age" in Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, p. 124.

Tacky, Sharpe, Quao, and Paul Bogle. Cudjoe and Quao were successful Maroon leaders,[18] while Tacky and Sharpe led slave rebellions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively.[19] Paul Bogle, who, like Marcus Garvey, is now a National Hero of Jamaica, led the celebrated nineteenth century uprising of black peasants against the administration of John E. Eyre, the English governor of the island. This is known as the Morant Bay Rebellion.[20] Garvey was particularly impressed by Bogle's admonition to his people of African descent: "Remember your colour and cleave to the Blacks."[21]

Another important educational influence in the early life of Garvey was the Jamaican newspaper, the Advocate. Published by Dr. Robert Love, a physician of African descent who was born in the Bahamas but made Jamaica his home, this newspaper frequently expressed black nationalist ideas. Its editor who, by virtue of education and financial position, was qualified for membership in the Jamaican coloured middle

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[18] Clinton V. Black, History of Jamaica, London and Glasgow, 1972, pp. 84-87.

[19] Tacky was unsuccessful and was shot. See Black, p. 93. Sharpe was also unsuccesful and was hanged. Black, p. 154.

[20] Black, pp. 194-200. Bogle was hanged after being caught, ironically enough, by Maroons and handed over to the authorities.

[21] "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," Op. Cit., p. 32. "The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization," in Clarke, ed., p. 80. Garvey first wrote this article in 1913 for the African Times and Orient Review.

class, confounded Jamaican society by identifying with the black masses whose cause he actively championed. He clearly stated his determination "to advocate the equal rights of all citizens ... to denounce oppression and wrong" as well as to instruct the working classes with respect to "their rights and privileges, ... their duties and responsibilities."[22] These were some of the ideas which the young and impressionable Garvey read in the editorials of the Advocate. He kept pondering them in his mind.[23]

When he entered the world of work, Garvey underwent certain experiences which served to reinforce the education which he had received as a young person. At the relatively early age of 20, he was a master printer and foreman with the P.A. Benjamin Company, one of the largest firms in the island.

It was during this period, in January, 1907, that disaster struck Kingston. An earthquake, followed by an extensive fire, destroyed large sections of the city, killing more than 1,200 persons. This was followed by a scarcity of goods which, in turn, led to dramatic increases in prices. The already weak economic position of the Jamaican masses was further eroded so that public dissatisfaction came to the

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[22]The Jamaica Advocate, May 18, 1895.

[23]"The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," Op. Cit., p. 32. Tony Martin, Race First The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Westport and London, Greenwood Press, 1976, p. 102 re Garvey's lessons in elocution.

surface.[24]

One of the major manifestations of this discontent was a strike called by the Printers' Union, the first organization of its type in Jamaica. The strike was called in order to force the workers' demands for higher wages and improved working conditions. P. A. Benjamin and Company had no intention of meeting these demands, and was determined to break the strike.[25]

As foreman and, therefore, a member of management, Garvey was expected to support the company. He was offered financial inducements to ensure that he went against the strikers, but this did not have the desired effect. Foreman Garvey, instead, chose the side of the strikers who, in turn, selected him to lead them in their struggle. He was the only member of management to take this position.[26]

With Garvey leading them, the strikers held public meetings designed to win public support for their cause. They succeeded in gaining the sympathy of American trade unionists

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[24]Sir Alan Burns, History of the British West Indies, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1954, p. 698.

[25]Cronon, Black Moses, p. 13. A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 5.

[26]Ibid. The fact that the strike failed and that Garvey was fired as a result of his participation in it has led some Garvey scholars, including E. D. Cronon, to attribute Garvey's alleged hostility to labour unions to this bitter labour dispute.

who sent financial aid to their Jamaican counterparts. In spite of all this, the strike was broken. The union secretary absconded with the funds of the union, while the company introduced new equipment and imported foreign workers to operate them. The result was the return to work on the part of those workers whom the company was prepared to accept.[27]

Garvey was one of the strikers whom the company refused to rehire. His involvement was so complete and uncompromising that his name was proscribed among private employers. As a consequence, he was forced to seek employment in the public sector, finding a job at the government printery.[28]

The entire strike episode was his first real lesson in what it meant to suffer for a cause. It was not to be the last. He was also introduced to the manner in which the rich and powerful operated, as well as to the difficulties inherent in trying to organize the masses. It would spell trouble for him whenever he ignored those important lessons.

His experience in the printers' strike seemed to have increased his determination to organize the oppressed citizens of Kingston. He conducted discussion groups at the

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[27] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 13. A.J. Garvey, Garvey

[28] Ibid. "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," Op. Cit. p. 33. Len S. Hembhard, Trials and Triumphs of Marcus Garvey, Kingston, The Gleaner Co., 1940, p. 4.

waterfront and in other parts of the city. He launched a publication which he called Garvey's Watchman, and helped to organize the National Club, the first political institution of its kind in Jamaica. Our Own, a fortnightly tract, was the official organ of this association.[29]

With the failure of his first publication and the growing realization that Jamaica was unable or unwilling to afford him the financial resources which were needed to carry out his nationalistic activities, Garvey decided to leave the island. He had a maternal uncle who had been working in Costa Rica for some time. This man was able to secure a job for Garvey as a timekeeper with the United Fruit Company.[30]

Garvey reached Costa Rica in 1909 and worked at his job for a short while. He was shocked by the deplorable conditions under which the Blacks lived and worked in that Central American Republic, and he decided to investigate the situation in the neighbouring countries.[31] As a result, he left Costa Rica.

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[29] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 6. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 13. The accounts of Mrs. Garvey and Cronon differ slightly. Mrs. Garvey wrote that the Watchman was established after the National Club. Cronon reversed the order.

[30] The United Fruit Company dominated the economic and political life of Central America and was very important in the Caribbean. See F.R. Augier, S.C. Gordon, D.G. Hall, and M. Reckord, The Making of the West Indies, London, Longmans, Green, 1964, pp. 263 ff.

[31] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy, Op. Cit., p. 126.

For two years after leaving Costa Rica, Garvey visited and worked in countries such as Guatemala, Panama, Nicaragua, Spanish Honduras, Ecuador, Chile, Peru, Columbia, and Venezuela. This was between 1909 and 1911.[32] He took note of the circumstances obtaining among the people of African descent who were born in those countries, as well as of the masses of black immigrants, many of whom had come from the West Indian islands. They went to those countries to work on the construction of the Panama Canal, on the agricultural plantations of companies such as United Fruit, and to toil in the gold, silver and other mines in those sections of the Americas.[33]

Wherever he went, the same grim sight greeted Marcus Garvey: black workers were abused, misused, and exploited.[34] In some instances, they were paid only a fraction of what a white worker received, even though they did the same job. This was particularly noticeable in the case of those who were employed in the Panama Canal project. Blacks were categorized as "Silver Employees" while Whites were designated as "Gold Employees". This was merely a transparent attempt to hide the fact of exploitation based on race and ethnicity. The "gold"

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[32] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7. Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 14 and 15.

[33] Eric Williams, From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969, London, André Deutsch, 1970, p. 438. Augier et al., Op. Cit., p. 241. Burns, Op. Cit., p. 664.

[34] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 126.

employees received higher wages and enjoyed superior living conditions to those afforded their "silver" counterparts.[35]

Banks, regulated or operated by the government, were almost non-existent. Many of them were temporary and portable, and would often disappear, with the deposits of the unsuspecting workers, whenever their operators felt that they had accumulated sufficient cash. In addition, these banks were located several miles away from their work place, and the workers had to travel on foot to get to them. They were frequently robbed and sometimes killed by bandits who infested the countryside.[36]

In his attempt to alleviate the situation, Garvey did several things. He complained to the British legation in Port Limon, Costa Rica, about the conditions under which the immigrants, who were British subjects, were forced to work and live. The British consul expressed little concern, saying that his office was powerless to do anything about the situation. This led Garvey to conclude that Whites did not place the same value on the lives of Blacks as they did on their own kith and kin. As a consequence, they were unwilling to offer

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[35]Interview with Mr. John Marshalleck, a native of Jamaica, who was a "silver" employee in Panama. He came to Montreal just prior to the outbreak of the First World War. A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7.

[36]Ibid., p. 6. Claude MacKay, Home to Harlem, p. 145. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 14. A.J. Garvey, "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," Op. Cit., p. 35.

protection to black people or to treat them with justice and fairplay.[37]

Garvey also started newspapers to communicate with those people of African descent whom he tried to organize. In Port Limon, his newspaper was La Nacionale. It had a rather brief existence, folding as a result of lack of support on the part of the very people for whom it was intended. Many were illiterate, and most had not developed to the point where they could appreciate the value of a newspaper in fighting their cause.[38] In Colon, Columbia, he called his publication La Prensa. This, too, had enjoyed little success and met the same fate as its Costa Rican counterpart and for the same reasons.[39]

Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1911. According to his second wife, Amy Jacques, he had contracted a fever while in Central America, and this prompted his return. She also wrote that his people in Jamaica had written him letters asking him to return and assist them in their struggle for justice.[40] Hembhard took the view that Garvey's labours in Central America were "crowned with only a modicum of success" and that "he felt a longing to return" to his native land.[41]

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[37] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 6.

[38] Ibid., p. 7. "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," p. 35.

[39] Ibid.

[40] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 7.

[41] Hembhard, Trials and Triumphs of Marcus Garvey, p. 9.

This visit to Latin America convinced Garvey that people of African descent would have to look after their own interests because no other group would do so for them. In order to do this, they would have to organize themselves into a vast and effective body which other groups would be forced to respect.[41] The seeds of this idea were implanted in his mind before he had left Jamaica in 1909. They were watered by what he had seen and heard in Latin America where germination had begun. They would grow as a result of a future trip to Europe, and would blossom in Harlem, the capital of black America.

On his return to Jamaica in 1911, Garvey complained to officials in the colony about the conditions under which British subjects, who had migrated to Latin America, lived and worked. He met with the same unconcern which the British consul in Costa Rica had shown. The governor of the island, for example, who did not wish to create any problems with his Spanish neighbours, suggested that the immigrants who did not like the conditions could return to their native land. To this Garvey rhetorically asked: "Return to what?"[42]

After spending some time in Jamaica, he became frustrated over his failure to get an organization operating

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[41] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 126.

[42] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 8.

effectively. He suffered from a lack of funds and from the opposition of the middle class Negroes and of the white upper class. As Nembhard wrote, when Garvey's "appeals" to his fellow Jamaicans, including the exploited, "brought no action," he left "Jamaica's sunny shores - this time England bound."[43] Amy Jacques explained that Garvey had hoped to win the support of black seamen and students who were based in the British capital.[44] It is reasonable to assume that this energetic and enquiring young colonial had a great desire to see the metropolitan country and the conditions under which Blacks lived there.

He observed that the same deplorable conditions existed for Blacks in Britain as in Jamaica and Latin America. He then visited the continent only to find out that the same pattern obtained there. In addition to his own observations, he came in contact with seamen, students, scholars and travellers from all parts of the colonial world who had lived in the port and other large cities of Europe. Their accounts reinforced what Garvey had already observed,[45] although, it must be pointed out, conditions must have been different from one place to another.

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[43] Nembhard, Op. Cit., p. 10.

[44] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 8.

[45] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 126. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 15. Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 8-9.

His education in Europe was advanced by three other experiences: his contact with Duse Mohammed Ali, an Egyptian author, nationalist, and traveller; his reading of Up From Slavery, the autobiography of Booker T. Washington, the celebrated black-American leader and educator of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; and his attendance at Birkbeck College, a continuing educational institution in the British capital which was later absorbed by the University of London.

Duse Mohammed Ali has been described as "the central figure of Pan-African thought and expression of the pre-1914 period."[46] In 1911 he published In the Land of the Pharaohs, one of the first history books about Egypt to be written by a native of that country. At the time of its publication, it was generally regarded as a masterpiece.[47] Ali was the centre of a coterie of black students, scholars, and other foreign nationalists who learned from the master. They also assisted him in the publication and circulation of the African Times and Orient Review, a journal edited and published by Ali, the

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[46] Robert A. Hill, "The First England Years and After, 1912-1916," in J.H. Clarke, ed., Op. Cit., p. 41.

[47] Ian Duffield, whose doctoral thesis is on Duse Mohammed Ali, wrote Hill in 1971 to the effect that he had changed his assessment of Ali's book. Duffield felt that it was substantially "plagiarized from Cromer's Modern Egypt" and two other publications on the subject. Duffield still considered it "a work of considerable historical importance, and indeed the best things in it are quite original." Fn. 36 in Hill, "The First England Years ...," Op. Cit., p. 455.

first issue appearing in July, 1912.[48]

These nationalists eagerly absorbed the ideas and information which flowed from Ali. Garvey, already highly motivated, proved to be a model student. He enthusiastically digested the material presented to him and the others, storing it away in his mind for future use and reference. At the same time he was able to sharpen his already considerable journalistic skills by writing articles for Ali's periodical and carrying out other functions related to it.[49]

Birkbeck, which was intended for working-class people, did not demand restrictive admission requirements. In today's jargon it can be said that students were accepted on the basis of "mature matriculation". It afforded Garvey the opportunity to study the elements of law, philosophy, and the social sciences.[50] Garvey's future career made it quite clear that he did profit from his introduction to these disciplines.

Of all these educational experiences, his encounter with Booker T. Washington's autobiography had, perhaps, the most profound effect on Garvey's desire to organize the Blacks

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[48]This journal was the organ of the new Pan-African philosophy which emerged as a result of the First Universal Races Congress held in London in 1911. See Hill, Op. Cit., p. 41.

[49]Hill, Op. Cit., pp. 42 and 44. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 15.

[50]Hill, Op. Cit., p. 40. M. Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," p. 126. Nembhard, Op. Cit., p. 111.

throughout the world. Garvey, in rather dramatic fashion, described this effect:

> I read of the conditions in America. I read "Up From Slavery", by Booker T. Washington, and then my doom - if I may so call it - of being a race leader dawned upon me in London after I had travelled through almost half of Europe. I asked: "Where is the black man's Government?" "Where is his King and Kingdom?" "Where is his President, his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his man of affairs?" I could not find them, and then I declared, "I will help to make them."[51]

He left London almost immediately after being struck by this Pauline bolt of lightning, disembarking in Kingston, Jamaica, on July 15, 1914. He wasted little time in launching his organization which was given the rather ponderous but destriptive name, the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities' League. **"Such a name," he explained, "would embrace the purpose of all black humanity." "Its motto was: One God! One Aim! One Destiny!"**[52]

Saddled with its caste-like social structure based largely on shade and colour of skin,[53] Jamaica was hardly the

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[51] M. Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 126.

[52] Ibid., p. 127. Robert Hill, in the article already cited, gives an analysis of the manner in which Garvey arrived at the name and the significance of its various components.

[53] See F. Henriques, Family and Colour in Jamaica, Bristol, Western Printing, 1968, for a discussion on the social structure of Jamaica.

place where an organization with such a name and such objectives was likely to prosper at that time. The black masses were obviously the ones to profit from this new body. To be able to do so, however, the assistance, cooperation, leadership and expertise of the other classes, especially the educated middle class of African descent, were absolutely essential. These people, however, were unwilling to become associated in any way with Garvey's movement because they did not wish to be seen as black. As Garvey described the problem,

> ... nobody wanted to be a Negro ... Men and women as black as I, and even more so, had believed themselves white under the West Indian order of society. I was openly hated and persecuted by some of these coloured men of the island who did not want to be classified as Negroes, but as white.[54]

As the above quote has indicated, the "Afro-Saxons"[55] did more than merely refuse to help the UNIA: they actively tried to destroy it. To quote Garvey once more on the subject, they opposed it "at every step."[56] It was the height of irony that the educated people to come forward and assist the organization, at this stage in its development, were of European

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[54]"The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 127.

[55]This term was coined during the turbulent 1960's to describe a person of African descent who did not wish to identify with his race. Garvey called them "black-whites". See Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, p. 127.

[56]"The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 127.

descent. The most notable were the island's Governor, Sir William Henry Manning; the Colonial Secretary; H. Bryan, Brigadier L. S. Blackden; Bishop J. J. Collins, S.J.; and the Honourable J. Simpson, Member of the Legislative Council who, at the same time, was Mayor of Kingston.[57] These people had to be careful about the manner and degree of the assistance which they rendered the UNIA for fear of offending "the 'coloured gentry' that passed for white."[58]

Although discouraged to some degree, Garvey did not cease his efforts to have his organization established and functioning. He was determined "that the work should be done,"[59] and he dedicated himself to the task. In the process, he used part of his own meagre financial resources to this end. As a result of his single-minded determination to make the UNIA a going concern in Jamaica, he became "a marked man."[60]

In spite of his hard work, however, Garvey accomplished little. From all appearances, Jamaica was not ready for the type of message which he was trying to spread, and the influential middle class fought to keep it that way. It was at that point that Garvey decided to visit the U.S.A. in order to get

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[57] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 127.

[58] Ibid., pp. 127 and 128.

[59] Ibid., p. 127.

[60] Ibid.

some assistance for his programme.[61]

This was not a sudden decision on his part. He had been in correspondence with Booker T. Washington on the subject of his Jamaican project, and the Sage of Tuskegee had invited Garvey to visit the U.S.A.[62] On April 12, 1915, he wrote Washington, asking for his assistance in organizing a lecture tour of America. Garvey had hoped to win support and financial help for his project from American Negroes. He had also intended to establish branches of the UNIA in major American cities with large black populations. These units would be placed under the leadership of American Negroes, and Garvey would keep in touch with them on his return to Jamaica.[63]

On November 14, 1915, before Garvey could leave for the U.S.A., Booker T. Washington died. Before this, he had promised to make Garvey's visit "as pleasant and as profitable" as possible. Undaunted by this unexpected development, the Jamaican leader left for the U.S.A., arriving at New York on March 23, 1916.[64]

Garvey travelled extensively in America during 1916 and 1917. He visited 38 of the 48 states of the union, taking

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[61] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 13.

[62] Ibid. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 19.

[63] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 13 and 14.

[64] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 128.

note of the conditions under which American Negroes lived. He made his pilgrimmage to Tuskegee and paid his "respects to the dead hero, Booker Washington."[65] He held discussions with Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Washington's long-time associate and private secretary.[66]

Garvey saw that conditions were just as bad among American Negroes as they had been among the Blacks in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe. He was not impressed with the calibre and dedication of black American leaders, concluding that they "were mere opportunists" with neither the programme nor the will to execute one. They were taking advantage of the situation, "living off their so-called leadership while the poor people were groping in the dark."[67] Whether this severe indictment was correct or not, it certainly was not calculated to endear Garvey to the indigenous leaders of the American Negroes.

His assessment of the American scene convinced Garvey that his decision to set up branches of the UNIA in the U.S.A. was sound. Accordingly, he proceeded to do so, starting with Harlem. On June 12, 1917, he established his first American

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[65] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 129.

[66] Tony Martin, Race First, p. 282, wrote that Dr. Scott had provided Garvey with "introductions to influential people."

[67] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 128.

division in that black metropolis. Since he had no intention of remaining in the U.S.A, he sought no executive position, preferring to become organizer for the branch.[68]

This division did not last very long. It broke up when some American Negro politicians saw in it a most useful vehicle to advance their own careers. This led to the formation of a second branch which also fell apart, and for the same reasons. Thirteen of the members from the second group approached Garvey and asked him to set up yet another unit and serve as its president. He accepted their invitation and was duly elected their leader. This New York Division was incorporated under the laws of the state in order "to prevent the other faction from using the name" of the UNIA.[69] Its offices were located at 114 West 138 Street as well as its Liberty Hall, the first such institution of the organization.[70] Whereas the other faction disappeared soon after the split, this division developed into the headquarters of the entire organization, replacing Kingston, Jamaica, the birth place of the UNIA.

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[68] "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 129.

[69] Ibid. Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 42-43. Len Nembhard, Trials and Triumphs of Marcus Garvey, pp. 19 to 25.

[70] The first Liberty Hall had a seating capacity of 6,000. It was the basement of the uncompleted Metropolitan Baptist Church which was purchased by the UNIA, enlarged, and covered by a roof. Its address was 56 West 135 Street. See Cronon, Black Moses, p. 49.

During its early years, the UNIA underwent phenomenal growth. According to Garvey, by June, 1919, there were 30 branches, with a total membership of 2,000,000, in the U.S.A.[71] These, of course, did include divisions in the Caribbean, Latin America, and in Canada. By the time the organization held its first international convention in New York in August, 1920, Garvey was claiming a membership of "over 4,000,000."[72] In 1923, he reported that there were 900 UNIA divisions with a total membership of 6,000,000.[73]

Such claims seem exaggerated, and Garvey's critics, including Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Robert S. Abbott, owner of the black newspaper, the Chicago Defender, often poked fun at them. More dispassionate critics such as E.D. Crondn also question Garvey's arithmetic. Even so, they concede that the UNIA represented the most successful attempt to organize the masses of people of African descent throughout the world. It must also be pointed out that the debate over the total membership involves millions of people.

In May, 1970, more than 10,000 UNIA documents were discovered in an abandoned building in Harlem.[74] As Dr. John

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[71]"The Negro's Worst Enemy," Op. Cit., p. 129.

[72]Ibid., p. 130.

[73]Ibid., p. 131. Martin, Race First, pp. 13, 14, and 15.

[74]The New York Times, May 8, 1970.

Hope Franklin, who, at the time, was chairman of the History Department of the University of Chicago, said concerning this discovery, it is certainly causing scholars to "modify" their views about the UNIA.[75] This is undoubtedly true as far as membership estimates are concerned.

Among the records which came to light in 1970 were membership rolls, files and lists for the 1925-1928 period approximately. They reveal that there were about 996 branches: 725 in the U.S.A. and about 271 in other countries.[76] If these records are complete for the period, they suggest that Garvey's membership totals were too large. For him to be correct, each branch must have had an average membership in the area of 6,000. This is hard to believe. The figures do show, however, that the UNIA had far more members than many of its critics were inclined to accept. They also show that Garvey was correct in his claim that there were more than 900 UNIA units in 1923.

Whatever the total number of members actually was, there can be no doubt that the organization reached people of African descent throughout the world. As was seen above, there were branches in the U.S.A. and in Jamaica. During the

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[75]The New York Times, May 8, 1970.

[76]UNIA Central Division or New York Files, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library. Martin, Race First, p. 15.

1925-1928 period, units were to be found in other parts of the Caribbean, including the Bahamas and Bermuda; Central and South America; England and Wales; Africa, including Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast (as Ghana was called at that time), Nigeria, South West Africa (present-day Namibia), and the Republic of South Africa and, even, Australia. Canada also had its UNIA divisions.[77]

According to Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, this almost universal representation of the organization created some problems during the first international convention. To that gathering came delegates from the four corners of the earth, thereby causing the organizers to improvise means of communication among the various language groups. It was also necessary to find ways of disguising the identity and country of origin of some delegates, because the governments that ruled over them were hostile to the UNIA and, as a result, had passed repressive laws, decreeing severe penalties against membership in it.[78]

With its close proximity to the U.S.A., where the Garvey movement was the strongest, Canada did not remain very long outside the orbit of the UNIA. In addition to the close

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[77] Ibid. See, also, Martin, Race First, Appendix, pp. 361 to 373.

[78] Garvey and Garveyism, p. 50. As late as 1941, the Pondoland Division of South Africa sent greetings to the 1941 international conference. See item, with photograph, in the 1941 Convention File, ACHA Archives.

proximity between the two countries, the "undefended border"[79] did allow for easy passage of people in both directions. There was, as a result, steady contact between Americans of African descent and their counterparts in Canada, with an exchange of ideas and institutions. Also, during this period, West Indian Blacks had been getting into Canada in small but steady numbers. Some of them came directly from the former British West Indies while others, who originated in those islands, came via Latin America where they had worked for some years. Many of them were already converts of the philosophy of Marcus Garvey and his UNIA.[80] The result was the formation of several units of the organization in the major population centres of this country.

In 1922, which seems to be the year when the UNIA reached its peak in Canada, there was hardly a community, with any appreciable black population, which did not have a branch of the organization. In Nova Scotia there were units in New Waterford, Glace Bay, Sydney, Tracadie, New Glasgow, Halifax, Dartmouth, Truro, and Amherst. There was a division in St. John, New Brunswick, while the Montreal branch was the only one in Quebec. Other population centres with UNIA units in-

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[79] C.P. Stacey, The Undefended Border The Myth and the Reality, Ottawa, Canadian Historical Association, 1967.

[80] Some worked on Canadian merchant ships. Others came to enlist in World War I and stayed on after the war.

cluded the following: Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catherines, Niagara Falls, Windsor, (Ontario); Winnipeg, (Manitoba); Saskatoon, North Battleford, Milleton (sic), (Saskatchewan); Edmonton, Junkins, Donatville, Keystone, Calgary, (Alberta); Vancouver, Victoria, and Prince George, (British Columbia).[81] This makes a total of 28 UNIA units at a time when the black population was very small. According to official figures, Canada had only 1,046 people of African descent the previous year. This was unquestionably an underestimation.[82] By 1925, the number of UNIA units was reduced to only 15.[83] Today, only Montreal and Toronto have survived as members of the UNIA family.

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[81] "Hon. George D. Creese, UNIA Commissioner for Canada, to Alfred Potter, President of the Montreal Division, March 10, 1922," Diplomatic File 2, ACHA Archives.

[82] Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. 1, Table 28. The question of official counts of the black population of Canada will be taken up in chapter dealing with membership.

[83] UNIA Central or New York Division Files. Martin, Race First, pp. 16 and 369.

CHAPTER II

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONTREAL DIVISION

Before the formal establishment of the Montreal Division on June 9, 1919,[1] there existed in this city an organization known as the Association of Universal Loyal Negroes.[2] Its head office was located at 1119 St. James St. which, from all appearances, was the address of its chief executive officer, Secretary-Treasurer Dillon C. Govin.[3] ULNA was one of the groups of black people which had been organized during this period for the purpose of uplifting the black race.

According to Theodore G. Vincent, who based his knowledge on an interview with James B. Yearwood, one of the founders of ULNA,[4] this organization was established in Panama

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[1] See p. 10. It is not known why this date was chosen. A statement issued by the executive and dated May 27, 1919, certified that "the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L. of the world" was organized to "carry on and do business in [Montreal] Quebec." History File 1, ACHA Archives.

[2] Also called Universal Loyal Negro Association. (Hereafter abbreviated as ULNA.)

[3] On Feb. 15, 1919, Garvey spelled this name as Dillon C. Gorin and, on March 8, 1919, as DeLeon C. Govin. See History File 2. Dillon C. Govin, the spelling found in the membership rolls, will be used.

[4] See his Black Power and the Garvey Movement, Berkeley, Ramparts Press, [1971], p. 110.

during the First World War. From there it spread to Costa Rica and other parts of Latin America. Its membership was made up of West Indians who had gone to those countries in search of employment. Its members had pledged to fight for Britain in the war, on condition that the British government would undertake to intensify efforts to alleviate the circumstances under which her black subjects lived.[5] It seems that ULNA was brought to Montreal by West Indians who had been associated with the organization in Panama.[6]

On January 30, 1919, Govin wrote the International Headquarters of the UNIA, which was located in New York, asking that ULNA be permitted to become an affiliate of that organization.[7] In his reply, Garvey pointed out that the ULNA branch in Panama had already taken that step. He went on to explain the nature and purpose of the UNIA, and to advertize the First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. This was scheduled to take place in New York during the month of August the following year.[8]

In the same letter, Garvey invited the Montrealers to apply for a charter after they had familiarized themselves

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[5] Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 110.

[6] "M. Garvey to Dillon C. Gorin, Feb. 15, 1919," History File 2.

[7] A copy of Govin's letter has not been found, but Garvey refers to it in his reply.

[8] "Garvey to Gorin," Op. Cit.

with the constitutional provisions of the organization. He had already sent, under separate cover, copies of the constitution and by laws. Not one to miss an opportunity to advance his work, Garvey enrolled Govin as his Montreal agent for the Negro World, the influential newspaper which the UNIA had launched in January, 1918, as its main organ.[8]

Within two weeks of receiving Garvey's encouraging letter, ULNA replied that its members were preparing themselves to establish a UNIA division in Montreal by discussing the matter and studying the constitution.[9] By March 10, Govin was able to inform Garvey that a UNIA division was established and ready to function.[10]

International Headquarters was quite pleased with this information. Through its secretary general it agreed to place the membership application of the Montrealers before the executive council with the hope that a charter would be issued "within due process of time."[11] The applicants were encouraged to continue their organizational effort in the

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[8] "Garvey to Gorin," Op. Cit.

[9] The letter from Montreal has not been found, but Garvey, in his reply dated March 8, 1919, referred to it. Details such as the date of the Montreal letter are contained in Garvey's reply.

[10] This letter has also not been located, but the reply to it, which refers to it, has been found. The reply contains the necessary details.

[11] "Secretary-General to Govin, March 13, 1919," History File 2.

interim. To assist along those lines, International Headquarters promised to mail promotional material such as membership certificates, collection cards, credit sheets, and additional copies of the constitution "along with further instructions."[12] This was done without delay, and ULNA of Montreal became Division 5 of the UNIA.

The head office of this UNIA unit was located at 243 St. Antoine Street.[13] This was the building in which the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) housed its sleeping car porters who did not reside in Montreal, and who were awaiting the appropriate trains to take them back to their home base. It is not surprising to find the fledgling organization making use of these premises since the majority of black men, who were gainfully employed, worked on the railroad as porters. This building was more than a "lay-over" place for "dead-head" porters. It was a veritable drop-in centre and meeting place for Blacks in this city.[14]

The CPR did not provide this "head office" free of charge as a favour or some form of industrial relations con-

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[12] "Secretary-General to Govin," Op. Cit.

[13] May 27, 1919, Statement, History File 1.

[14] Interviews with Messers E.J. Tucker, Frank Cooper, John Marshalleck, and O.N. Daniels. Interviews done for this study were conducted over a fairly long span of time. See bibliography which will give dates for the interviews.

cession to its lowly-paid employees. The giant company charged the UNIA $10.00 in rent for the few meetings which were held there.[15]

The division did not remain at this address for a long time. The membership felt that the Pan-Africanist and black nationalist philosophy of the organization was not the type that the CPR was likely to view with equanimity. This, it was felt, might endanger the jobs of those members who were employed by that company. In addition, the CPR porters were in the process of discussing the formation of a labour union. As this was anathema to the management of the company, the UNIA members were afraid that their organization might be confused with the incipient union movement. They were also of the opinion that the close physical proximity of the UNIA to the major employer of black people might have the effect of retarding the growth of their association, since potential members might have misgivings about being openly identified with it. Finally, the type of social, educational, promotional and other activities, which were essential to the well-being of the UNIA, could not have been satisfactorily carried out at 243 St. Antoine Street because of space limitations and and inadequate facilities. The members concluded, therefore,

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15 Ledger 1, p. 3, ACHA Archives. It does not specify the number of meetings which were held and I could not find out.

that more appropriate quarters had to be found.[16]

While seeking a new location, the organization operated, free of charge, out of the home of Mr. Alfred Potter who lived at 308 Aqueduct Street.[17] Its stay here was very brief because, in the same month of July when it moved from the CPR facilities, the organization rented quarters on Guy Street. During this period, whenever it held a function which required a very large hall, the UNIA rented space in the Salvation Army's building on Chatham Street. It was in this hall that Garvey addressed the black people of Montreal when he made the visit to which Israel referred.

The rented premises on Guy Street, which the members called the Guy Street Hall, were located on the ground floor of a two-story building situated at the northeast corner of Guy and Notre Dame Streets. The top floor of this structure contained apartments which were rented to individuals and families. J.H. Nault, a pharmacist and optician whose professional address was 42 St. Catherine Street East, was owner of this property.[18]

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[16]Interviews with Tucker, Cooper, Marshalleck, and Daniels.

[17]Solemn Declaration of Potter, Address File 3, and various letterheads, Address File 1. Also interviews. All are in the ACHA Archives.

[18]Monthly Statement for December, 1920, Address File 2. Nault later moved his offices to 1431 St. Hubert Street.

At the beginning of its tenancy, the organization paid $2.50 for each occasion that it used the hall. This sum did not include additional costs, such as maintenance, associated with using the premises. In July, 1920, the records reveal that $22.50 were paid in rent and $5.00 went towards cleaning bills. The rental figure defrayed the cost of holding 6 general meetings. There was an extra payment of $7.50 which was probably added by Nault because his tenant held special meetings on July 22, 23, and 24.[19]

Not altogether satisfied with this arrangement, the UNIA, in November, 1920, signed a lease with Nault for the use of his hall at the cost of $50.00 per month. This flat rate allowed the association to hold as many meetings as it wished. The only additional charges involved items associated with maintenance and alterations which the division wished to make. For the month of January, for example, $1.20 had to be spent on replacing one pane of glass, $6.00 for cleaning, $5.80 for extending the speaker's platform, and $5.60 for installing electric fixtures.[20]

These expenses were proving too burthensome on the budget of the division, and it was constantly in arrears

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[19] Ledger 1, p. 13.

[20] Ibid. Interviews suggest that Nault did not take very good care of his building so that there was always some repairs to be done. Many UNIA members, fortunately, were handymen.

with its payment. Accordingly, on October 27, 1921, the members wrote Nault asking for a sizeable reduction in rent. The proprietor replied that he could not fully accede to their request because their suggested figure was "too cheap." He made a counter offer to rent his hall at a "uniform price of $5.00 per night."[21]

Nault's counter offer did not meet the needs of the organization, especially as the premises were not kept in suitable condition. As a result, the members began, once more, to search for more acceptable accommodation and at a more reasonable price. This seemed to have been realized in March, 1922, when space was leased in a building located at 134 Chatham Street. Thus, after occupying the Guy Street Hall from February, 1920, to March, 1922, at a cost of $845.00 in rent and $85.42 in maintenance, the UNIA moved to Chatham Street in May, 1922.[22]

The new premises were owned by G.J. Lunn and Company which operated the Chatham Works from this building. Established in 1875, this company manufactured a wide range of metal tools and other items. Its specialty seemed to have been hockey skates which it advertized as "the only laminated

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[21]"Nault to UNIA, October 29, 1921," Guy Street Hall File, ACHA Archives.

[22]Ledger 5, pp. 354 and 355.

skate in the world."[23] The company's shops were located on the ground floor, while the UNIA rented space on the second floor.

Mrs. Jean Lunn represented the company in negotiations with the UNIA. The organization entered into a 5-year lease, which was due to expire on April 30, 1927, at a rental fee, payable in advance, of $65.00 per month.[24] Although the association had been paying Nault $50.00 per month towards the end of its stay at the Guy Street Hall, the members considered the over-all arrangement at Chatham Street to be an improvement. The space was much larger, making it possible to accommodate more people at fund-raising events. This, of course, meant greater revenues on these occasions. Furthermore, there was much more freedom to use the rented space than was possible with the Guy Street Hall. The extra $15.00 per month were, therefore, considered a justifiable additional expenditure.[25]

The "upper flat", a room measuring 25 feet by 50 feet, was occupied by the UNIA.[26] The organization had to do some work on the floors and walls which were not in the best con-

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[23]Advertisement on receipt, May 2, 1922, Chatham Street File 1, ACHA Archives.

[24]1922 lease between UNIA and Mrs. Jean Lunn, Chatham Street File 3, ACHA Archives.

[25]Interviews with Tucker, Cooper, and Marshalleck.

[26]1922 lease between UNIA and Mrs. Jean Lunn.

dition. To accomplish this, special subscription lists were circulated through which the association proposed "cleaning the walls, scraping and polishing the floor, covering the floor in the hallway and providing a pair of stage curtains."[27] By working on improving the premises, the division converted the "upper flat" into Montreal's Liberty Hall, in keeping with the tradition established by Garvey and the Parent Body in New York City.

Liberty Hall, 134 Chatham Street, was a busy place indeed. Each Sunday afternoon the regular meeting of the organization took place. On Mondays were lodge sessions, while Tuesdays were reserved for the Literary Club.[28] Other fraternal associations and meetings were scheduled for Wednesday evenings, while Thursdays and Saturdays were set aside for dances and other functions of like nature. Fridays were kept for other clubs and auxiliaries of the division.[29]

The UNIA remained in the Lunn Building until May, 1931.[30] Before the expiration of the original 5-year lease

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[27]Circular Letter, Sept. 18, 1923, Chatham Street File 3.

[28]This auxiliary will be discussed in chapter 5.

[29]"UNIA to Mrs. J. Lunn, November 14, 1923," Chatham Street File 3.

[30]Minutes Book (hereafter MB) 1, ACHA Archives.

which was to occur on April 30, 1927, however, there was serious discusion as to whether or not the organization should remain there or move to yet another location. Dissatisfaction was expressed over the general condition of the building and the poor maintenance record of its owners. A special complaint was the lack of sufficient heat during the cold winters.[31]

The members were also disappointed by the amount of revenue that was generated by the sublet of the facilities of Liberty Hall. They had overestimated the use which other groups would make of their premises, with the result that the rent of $65.00 per month had proved to be rather burthensome. At the request of one of the members, the secretary gave the following information regarding revenues raised from subletting the hall, putting on dances, and conducting other such social and revenue-raising activities:[32]

Table I. - Revenues from Subletting Liberty Hall.

Dates	Receipts
June 1924 to May 1925	$662.54
June 1925 to May 1926	$459.77
June 1926 to Jan. 1927	$466.54
Total	$1,588.85

Against this total, the organization had paid $2,015.00

[31] "UNIA to Mrs. Lunn, Nov. 14, 1923," Chatham St. File 3.

[32] MB 1, p. 29.

in rent over the same period.[33] Mr. William Trott, who had raised the question, suggested that, in the circumstances, the organization should consider moving its operations to Union Church located at 3007 Delisle Street, a few blocks west of Liberty Hall.[34]

This suggestion was feasible and practical because most of the revenue-producing activities of the association occurred during the summer months when church functions were reduced to a minimum. The UNIA, therefore, would not have interfered with the proper functioning of Union Church. At the same time, both institutions would have benefitted from the reduction of overhead expenses and the sharing of income. It was rejected, nevertheless, on the grounds that the UNIA would appear to be going backwards to the point where it had to abandon its own Liberty Hall and seek shelter in the basement of the church. This, it was felt, would have the effect of discouraging potential members from joining the association.[35]

The outcome of this debate was the decision to remain in the Lunn Building if a shorter lease and a reduction of rental charges could be secured. To try and negotiate this

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[33] MB 1, p. 29.

[34] This was regarded as the "Coloured People's" Church. Rev. Charles H. Este, the UNIA chaplain, was minister of this church. It is a member of the United Church of Canada.

[35] MB 1, pp. 29-30.

deal, a committee consisting of Israel Sealey, president, C. Russell, vice president, and E. Langdon,[36] treasurer, was appointed to discuss the matter with Mrs. Lunn. Their goal was a one-year lease at $55.00 per month.[37] Mrs Lunn was receptive to the idea so that, at the February 9, 1927, general meeting of the organization, President Sealey was able to report that both goals of the committee had been achieved.[38]

The group, which negotiated with Mrs. Lunn, must have presented a very impressive case because there was a continual reduction in the rent while the organization remained on Chatham Street. For the year, 1928-1929, for example, the rent was reduced to $52.50. It remained at that figure for 1929-1930. By the time the lease expired in 1931, the UNIA was paying $45.00 per month for its Liberty Hall.[39] The onset of the 1929-1939 depression probably influenced Mrs. Lunn in her decision to reduce the rent during the last year.

Before discussing the move of the UNIA from the Lunn Building to its location on Georges Vanier Boulevard, mention

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[36] Current President H.J. Langdon, a UNIA member for more than 50 years, is the son of this man.

[37] MB 1, pp. 31 and 32.

[38] Ibid., p. 33.

[39] Ledger 5, pp. 74 and 75.

should be made of the difficulties which it experienced in its search for a permanent home.

The first dance, sponsored by the organization, took place at its Guy Street Hall in the Vault Building. According to eyewitnesses and participants, the event attracted a large number of policemen who literally surrounded the premises. The members were at a loss to explain the reasons behind the police action because, as far as they were aware, they had fulfilled all the conditions which the civic atuhorities had required of them. As no arrests were made and as they were allowed to continue their activity, they concluded that this unexpected behaviour on the part of the Montreal police was a result of the latter's novel experience of seeing such a relatively large number of black people in one place which was not a church or a funeral home.[40]

With the move to Chatham Street in 1922, the UNIA ran into further difficulties. This concerned its dance license which it had obtained from the city for its Guy Street Hall.[41] The members had assumed that it would only be a matter of routine to have it transferred and made applicable

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[40]Interviews with veteran members such as Tucker, Marshalleck, and Cooper. After the years, the veterans enjoy telling this story. It was not funny at the time.

[41]Dance hall licenses receipts for April 30, 1920, and April 26, 1921, Receipt File 1, ACHA Archives.

to the new premises. They met with considerable opposition when they attempted to have the transfer effected. The main stumbling block, according to the people interviewed, was Alderman Hushion who represented the ward on the Montreal city council. He was adamantly opposed to the presence of the organization as well as any plans it had for holding dances in his fiefdom. In their attempt to get around the determined city councillor, the members decided to seek an interview with the mayor of Montreal, **Médéric Martin.**[42]

Mayor Martin received the delegation most cordially, listened attentively to its story, enquiring, afterwards, as to the number of people (or was it votes?) it represented. He expressed surprise at the answer, explaining that he was not aware that there were so many people of African descent in the city. At the time, the UNIA membership records had approximately 700 names, many of which represented the heads of families.[43] The mayor then asked for and received from the police department a report on the organization. On hearing that its record was beyond reproach, he ordered that the license be granted without further delay, and that the first

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[42]Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, Cooper and Daniels.

[43]The question of membership will be taken up in chapter III. As will be seen, the number of names listed in the membership records always exceeded by far the actual financial membership.

six months be given free of charge. Successful politician that he was, Mayor Martin did not neglect to remind the UNIA of the forthcoming municipal elections.[44]

Getting insurance coverage for their premises and its contents presented another problem for the members of the UNIA. They had purchased furniture and equipment such as chairs, tables, desks, cooking utensils, and musical instruments, including a piano, to name some examples of their assets. These amounted to a considerable percentage of their budget, and it was felt that they should be protected especially against loss by fire or theft.[45]

As they approached various companies, they discovered that a routine matter became a major problem. Some companies rejected the UNIA's application out of hand on the grounds that it was "a Negro association" and that they did not do business with such groups.[46] In one instance for which actual records survive, the organization had reached the point in its negotiation with an insurance broker, L.V. Mitchell, of 67 Grand Avenue, Montreal, where it had actually issued a cheque for $10.00. This was in December, 1922, and the money

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[44]Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, Cooper and Daniels.

[45]Ledger 5, pp. 33 and 355. The piano, for example, had cost the UNIA $490.00.

[46]"UNIA to Mitchell, March 17, 1923," Insurance File (hereafter Ins. File) 1, ACHA Archives.

was intended to be a down payment on the first year's premium. After consulting various insurance companies, Mitchell was forced to report that he was unable to find a company that was willing to give coverage to a black group.[47]

The move from Chatham Street to Georges Vanier Boulevard brought with it its own problems and difficulties. Some residents of the district, the majority of whom were of European extraction, were opposed to the entry of this black association in their midst. The future landlord, therefore, demanded that, as a precondition for his granting a lease, the UNIA must produce the signature of 50 residents who did not object to its presence in the locality.[48] This proved to be a relatively easy exercise, and the UNIA was able to obtain the 50 signatures in a short time.[49]

Opposition to the organization was centred around Alderman Gabais, the city councillor for the St. Antoine Ward in which the property was located. Gabais had some influence in municipal politics beyond the ordinary member of the council. He, later, became chairman of its metropolitan commission. In spite of this, he could not, legally, prevent the UNIA from

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[47] "UNIA to Mitchell," Op. Cit. Mitchell's letter, if he had written one, was not located. He was quoted in the UNIA letter to him.

[48] Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, Cooper, Daniels.

[49] Ibid.

moving into his constituency; nevertheless, he held a very important trump card which he decided to exploit to its fullest. This was the dance license which the organization had first obtained during its stay on Guy Street and which Mayor Médéric Martin had issued to it when it moved to Chatham Street.

The license, which was issued on a one-year basis only, expired on April 30, 1931. As a different municipal area was involved, its renewal was not automatic, as the members had been led to believe. The alderman used his considerable influence to prevent the UNIA from obtaining a new one. He argued that the residents feared disorderly and immoral conduct on the part of members and friends of the association.[50] He also intimated that the parish priest, who, for undetermined reasons, was dead set against the idea of having the UNIA in his parish, had threatened to work for his defeat in the next election should he allow the license to be granted.[51] At that time, parish priests in Quebec did have real political power.

The organization considered the charges and opposition unfounded and unjustified, and, accordingly, were angered by them. The members called a special meeting to plan their next

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[50] Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, Cooper, Daniels.

[51] Ibid.

move. The meeting voted to send a delegation to interview Alderman Gabais with the hope of convincing him to change his stand on the matter. A high-powered committee, consisting of President W.H. Trott, First Vice President A.E. James, Lady President Mrs. Florence Marshall, Chaplain Rev. C.H. Este, and E.J. Tucker, was chosen to put the views of the UNIA before the alderman.[52]

When they reached the home of the municipal politician which was located at the corner of Coursol and Vinet Streets, they were kept waiting on the sidewalk for a long time before they were allowed to enter his premises. They were lucky that this was the middle of May, so that the night was agreeably cool.[53] Armed with character references from the Salvation Army, the Captain of the Seigneur Street Police Station, and from other persons with interest in the ward, the committee was convinced that its mission would be successful. They met with grave disappointment: the alderman proved to be "quite hard" and was determined not to relent. The many references meant nothing to him. He "did not want any dancing in his ward."[54] The fact that other groups, including the Catholics, were

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[52] MB 2, p. 7.

[53] The precise date is not given in the Minutes Book, and the interviewees could not recall it.

[54] MB 2, p. 8.

allowed to enjoy themselves in this manner did not greatly perturb the alderman.

As a result of this opposition, the UNIA was placed in an awkward position. In addition to their obvious social value, dances represented important sources of revenue for the organization. They also helped to promote the association because they represented a most popular leisure-time activity during this period. Another consideration was the fact that the UNIA had sublet its premises to some other organizations such as fraternal groups and lodges. An important part of its revenues came from these quarters, and this was in danger because those groups also held dances for their own financial and social reasons.[55] Failure on the part of the UNIA to procure a dance license would, therefore, reduce the attractiveness which Liberty Hall held for those groups.

Consideration of all these factors led the UNIA to seek a short-term rather than a multi-year lease from the owner of the Georges Vanier Boulevard property. In the meantime, they would continue to try for the elusive dance permit.[56] Both the short-term lease and the license were obtained, the latter finally reaching the association during the third week in October, 1931. The president was pleased to announce to the members that he had succeeded in getting the license, and at

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[55] Interviews with Tucker, Florence Marshall, C.H. Este.

[56] MB 2, p. 9.

a "much cheaper" cost.[57]

The building, which now housed the new Liberty Hall, was located at the north-west corner of St. James Street and Georges Vanier Boulevard. It was owned by Jean Baptiste Vanier, a member of the illustrious Canadian family of French origin which gave this country its first Governor-General of French extraction and its second native-born Head of State. Vanier had purchased this property, together with others in the area, from Vital Baby on April 19, 1906, for $50,000. The terms of the purchase called for a downpayment of $10,000, with a mortgage on the property to cover the balance.[58]

Liberty Hall was located on the second floor of this large building complex. The members were more than satisfied with its size, but it was in need of some repairs and renovation. The windows were far from air-tight, and this caused the hall to be "draughty" and uncomfortable. The stairs were worn down, and the stairway, leading from the main floor to the hall, was in a "filthy condition." Toilet, storage, and cooking facilities were lacking, and the UNIA had to provide them. On the main floor was a printing company.[59]

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[57] MB, 2, p. 21. The minutes of that meeting did not say how President Trott was able to swing this deal.

[58] Deed of Sale, No. 17009, April 19, 1906, Property (hereafter Prop.) File 1, ACHA Archives.

[59] MB 2, p. 69.

These shortcomings were duly pointed out to the owner during the negotiation for the lease. The difficulties which the UNIA was having over the procurement of its dance license were also mentioned, and its relationship to the income of the organization was stressed. The result of the negotiation was a one-year renewable lease at the rate of $40.00 per month.[60] This one-year lease was extended from 1931 until November, 1943, when the organization purchased the entire property from its former landlord.[61]

Very early in its history, the UNIA had entertained thoughts of owning its own property. To this end it had instituted a Building Fund in March, 1922, about three years after its establishment.[62] At the time, a committee recommended that special efforts be made to "raise at least three thousand dollars" by May, 1923, towards the Building Fund.[63] This ambitious and commendable recommendation was not realized but, by the middle of 1926, the organization had $1,195.28 saved in its Buidling Fund account.[64]

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[60] MB 2, p. 69. See, also, Ledger 2, p. 145.

[61] Deed of Sale, No. 12637, November 12, 1943, Prop. File, 2, ACHA Archives.

[62] Ledger 1, p, 50. Ledger 5, p. 84.

[63] Committee report submitted on March 18, 1922, Executive Council File, ACHA Archives.

[64] Ledger 5, p. 85.

On May 12, 1926, Mr. Alfred Potter introduced a motion calling for the establishment of a committee to consider "ways and means for providing the Montreal Division" with suitable and proper hall space. The lease for the Lunn Building hall was due to expire, and the UNIA was thinking of moving once more. This motion passed the house, and a committee consisting of Messers. Trott, Gilpin, and Alexander, was appointed.[65]

This committee interpreted the Potter resolution to mean the purchase of a building rather merely the rental of more acceptable quarters. It reported back, on September 8, 1926, that its investigations suggested that the organization should not attempt to purchase a building until a minimum of $2,000 was raised. This recommendation was accepted, and the situation remained in limbo after this, with the UNIA continuing to be a tenant. It continued to raise money, in the interim, towards the eventual purchase of its property, even though the rate of capital accumulation was rather slow.[66]

By the end of March, 1931, the fund had reached $1,955.92, forty-four dollars and eight cents short of the target set by the group approximately four years before.[67]

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[65] MB 1, p. 9.

[66] Ibid., p. 49.

[67] Ledger 5, p. 156. Some of the members were tempted by this money, and it was with great difficulty that the UNIA was able to maintain this fund. Interview with Tucker and Marshalleck.

The Great Depression, however, had struck with devastating force and the black community of Montreal reeled from its terrible effects. As one of the associations serving this community and dependent on it for its financial resources, the UNIA showed the effects of the economic difficulties. Membership declined, attendance at meetings went down, and patrons and supporters of fund-raising projects were fewer and had less to contribute. One of the major reasons for the decline was the fact that many people of African descent left the city for other areas, particularly the U.S.A., in search of that ever-elusive job or less niggardly charity.[68]

With decreasing revenue and rising costs, the organization was forced to transfer money from its Building Fund to its current account. On November 23, 1937, for example, it was decided to borrow $100.00 from the fund for one year at an interest rate of two per cent. In the preamble to the motion, the association referred to the financial bind in which it had found itself. It declared that the general funds were so low that it was "well-nigh impossible" for it "to meet its obligations." The hope was expressed that the loan would be sufficient "to tide over" the financial "situation."[69]

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[68] Interviews with Rev. Este and Messers Tucker and Ashby. Circular letter, June 18, 1936, Fund Raising File 1, ACHA Archives.

[69] MB 2, p. 122.

This was not to be the case, however, as various sources of income continued to dry up. On May 9, 1939, the UNIA was, once again, dipping into its Building Fund to meet current expenditures. The sum of $200.00 was borrowed to satisfy "the pressing demands of the landlord" for his long-overdue rent. Money was also needed to pay for the license necessary for the operation of the hall.[70]

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the Canadian government appealed to individuals and organizations for contributions towards the war effort. The UNIA decided to convert part of what was left of its Building Fund into a victory bond worth $500.00.[71] In June, 1941, the organization became the proud and patriotic holder of Victory Bond No. Z040409.[72] This vote of confidence and investment in the allied victory turned out to be of great importance in the organization's dream of owning its own home.

The actual purchase of property by the UNIA may be said to have had its start in September, 1938, when the division received a letter from M. Seale of E. Dowrich (Regis-

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[70] MB 2, p. 130.

[71] "UNIA to Deputy Minister of Finance, October 20, 1941," Government File 1, ACHA Archives. It is not known whether or not this sum represented the total balance of the Building Fund.

[72] "Bank of Canada to UNIA, Dec. 12, 1941," Ibid.

tered), a real estate company. Agent Seale[73] offered to sell the organization a property situated at 1312-1316 St. Antoine Street, not far from Mountain Street. This property consisted of a parcel of land, 25 feet by 68 feet, and a building of four stories and a basement. In the building were commercial and residential units: two small stores on the ground floor, and fourteen apartments and rooms on the three upper floors. The revenue from renting these units totalled $660.00 per year. Seale, in the same proposal, advised the UNIA that another property, located on St. James Street close to Atwater Avenue, would be available "within the next few days", should the organization not find the first property acceptable.[74]

The UNIA decided not to accept Seale's offer on the grounds that it was not contemplating "any purchase at this time." It was also pointed out that, in any event, the location was not satisfactory.[75] By this time, the black population, for the most part, had shifted further to the west in the vicinity of St. Antoine Street and Atwater Avenue.[76]

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[73]This gentleman is, most probably, Milton Seale, a member of one of the most prominent black families in the city.

[74]"Seale to UNIA, Sept. 15, 1938,"Prop. File 4, ACHA Archives.

[75]MB 2, p. 128. This reply must have surprised Seale, as the desire to purchase property at that time on the part of the UNIA was well advertized. See, for example, a June 18, 1936, letter soliciting money for the Building Fund in Fund Raising File 1, ACHA Archives.

[76]Interviews with Rev. Este, Messers Tucker and Lord.

This response did not discourage Seale. Almost immediately after receiving it, he wrote the association, expressing the hope that it had not "completely" abandoned its idea of "owning its own hall." He then suggested another property which was situated "quite close" to the "present quarters" occupied by the UNIA. It bore civic numbers 2212, 2214, and 2216 St. James Street, and it consisted of "two upper dwellings and one lower dwelling" standing on a lot 40 feet wide and 84 feet deep. It brought in an annual revenue of $756.00, while total taxes were approximately $240.00.[77]

It would appear that persistent salesman Seale had made a careful study of the needs of the organization. He articulated the thinking of the members, as far as their property aspirations were concerned, with uncanny accuracy. He explained, for example, that the lower floor could "easily be be converted into a Hall." This facility would be in great demand since the neighbourhood clearly lacked sufficient of these halls. "Coloured people," French, English, Italian, and "all other peoples in that district" would gladly rent the UNIA facilities to hold "weddings, banquets, lodge and fraternal gatherings, political gatherings etc."[78] This would

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[77] "Seale to UNIA, Oct. 19, 1938," Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

mean much-needed revenue for the organization. Seale went on to point out that the two apartments on the upper floor would bring in an annual income of $480.00. This would be more than sufficient to pay the taxes and cover the costs for expenditures such as insurance, heating, and general repairs.[79] There can be little doubt that this salesman had done his homework.

In spite of this well-prepared and tempting proposal, the UNIA felt that it was not ready to seize the opportunity about which it had dreamed for such a long time. Accordingly, Seales's letter was placed on file until a later date when the members were prepared to return to the subject of purchasing their own property.[80] There the matter rested until the Second World War was well underway.

The matter was resurrected, once again, as a result of a letter from another real estate company, the Crown Trust Company. Its manager W.F. Brass, in May of 1943, offered to sell the UNIA the very property in which its rented Liberty Hall was located. Brass, who managed the property for Jean Baptiste Vanier, informed the organization that the owner was no longer interested in entering into a lease with the UNIA.[81] Instead, he was intent on selling the entire property and would

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[79] "Seale to UNIA, October 19, 1938," Ibid.

[80] MB 2, p. 129.

[81] "Brass to UNIA, May 19, 1943," Prop. File 4, ACHA Archives.

be happy to receive an offer from his tenants.[82]

From all appearances, Vanier was experiencing financial difficulties and seemed to have been on the verge of liquidating some of his assets. Although he had bought the property in 1906, some thirty years previously, he had not, as yet, retired the mortgage. On the contrary, he had taken out additional loans, offering as collateral his equity in that property.[83] To add to his financial woes, or, perhaps, helping to cause them, was the difficulty he was having in collecting the rent from his tenants, the UNIA being among the principal offenders.[84]

That the UNIA should express an interest in purchasing real estate at this time would, at first glance, appear rather strange. As will be seen in chapter three, its membership was not large. As mentioned above, it was experiencing difficulty in meeting its monthly rental payment, and the prospects of solving this problem did not look bright in the short term. The **explanation** for this apparent paradox must be seen in terms of the information which follows.

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[82]"Brass to UNIA, May 19, 1943," Op. Cit.

[83]Discharge No. 1214, September 15, 1953, shows that Vanier had borrowed money from Hazel Sandison on February 16, 1907. He had sought a time extension on July 19, 1932, Prop. File 5, ACHA Archives.

[84]"Crown Trust Co. to UNIA, May 27, June 25, Sept. 8, Oct. 27, 1941, and Feb. 25, 1942," Prop. File 4.

The property was being offered at a very attractive price, and it could be obtained with a relatively modest downpayment of $3,000. The income of this property, if managed in a business-like manner, was sufficient to meet all expenses arising from owning it. These included the payment of the principal and interest associated with the mortgage, as well as the various taxes levied by such bodies as the municipal council, the provincial government, and the school commission. It was felt that ownership of real estate would provide an important psychological lift for black Montrealers in general and UNIA members in particular. This, it was argued, would go a long way towards enhancing the prestige of the organization, thereby helping to revive interest in it. Finally, the Building Fund, both as cash in the bank and in the form of the Victory Bond, was always a source of temptation to some members, and it could disappear without there being anything to show for it. It was, therefore, decided to use it for the purpose for which it was originally established as soon as the right opportunity came along. This, in the opinion of the majority, was unquestionably the opportune moment.[85]

The property bore civic numbers 2201-2209 St. James Street and 702-712 Georges Vanier Boulevard. The parcel of land on which the buildings stood measured 5,400 square feet.

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[85] Interviews with Tucker, the Coopers, Marshalleck, and Rev. C. Este.

These structures were built from "solid brick" and stood three stories high. They contained commercial establishments, apartments, and two halls. Except for units 2205-2207 St. James Street, the buildings were equipped with hot water throughout. The floors were all made of hardwood with the exception of 2209 St. James Street. This property generated a total revenue of $3,846.00 per annum.[86]

Jean Baptiste Vanier, owner of the property and landlord of the UNIA since 1931, was seeking $22,000. He was prepared to accept a reasonable downpayment and was willing to hold a mortgage over the property for the balance of the money. This would be subject to interest rates and length of time that obtained in such circumstances.[87]

The UNIA sought the cooperation of other black organizations in the city in the purchase of the property. A resolution was passed empowering President E.J. Tucker to consult with the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the Household of Ruth, and Beaver Temple of the Elks, all of whom had been renting Liberty Hall from the UNIA to hold their functions.[88] It was felt that, should these groups be persuaded to join with the UNIA to purchase the property, the financial burthen on

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[86] "Brass to UNIA, May 19, 1943," Op. Cit.

[87] Ibid.

[88] MB 3, p. 3.

the organization would be considerably reduced. At the same time, it would have the advantage of encouraging cooperation among the black groups in the city.[89]

President Tucker was ready to report back to the UNIA three weeks after he was given his assignment. He was a disappointed man who was forced to conclude that, after giving "the matter of cooperation every bit of consideration," the other organizations "were not at present prepared to join in such a big undertaking." The minutes went on to say that the members accepted the positions of their sister groups "with calm" and refrained from "discussing the attitude of the clubs."[90] They may have been thinking about their experience with the same groups about thirteen years before, when they tried to get "the clubs" to establish a joint building fund. At that time, the response and attitude of those other black groups made the UNIA conclude that it was wasting its time.[91]

With the other groups unable or unwilling to cooperate, the UNIA went ahead alone and made an offer to Vanier. They were willing to pay $18,000 for the property.[92] It did not take Vanier very long to turn down the offer because, in his

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[89] MB 3, p. 3.

[90] Ibid., p. 5.

[91] MB 1, p. 184.

[92] "UNIA to Brass, May 31, 1943," Prop. File 4.

opinion, it was "too low."[93] The organization apparently agreed with him and came up with a more realistic offer.

Recalling Brass' suggestion that Vanier was prepared to accept $20,000, although the property was listed at $22,000,[94] the UNIA raised its original offer by $2,000. The members offered to pay down $3,5000 and carry the remaining $16,500 as "a mortgage in favour of [the] vendor." The rate of interest on the mortgage would be 5% per annum, with the first payment on the capital and interest to be made six months after the execution of the deed of sale. The balance was to be paid in full ten years after the agreement had been signed.[95]

In going about this business transaction, the organization had been pursuing a rather cautious course consistent with the inexperience of its membership in general as far as matters of this nature were concerned. It had sought opinions and advice from many quarters, and had carried out considerable soul searching.[96] Its principal advisor was B.J. Spencer Pitt, a lawyer and ardent Garveyite. He was, at one time, president

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[93] "Brass to UNIA, June 2, 1943," Prop. File 4.

[94] "Brass to UNIA, May 19, 1943," Ibid.

[95] "UNIA to Brass, June 21, 1943," Ibid. See, also, MB 3, p. 7, for the resolution, adopted by the organization, dealing with the offer to be made to Vanier.

[96] Minutes of the special meeting held on July 4, 1943, Special Minutes File, ACHA Archives. Also MB 3, pp. 5 and 6.

of the Toronto Division and chairman of the International Rehabilitating Committee.[97] A native of Grenada, West Indies, Pitt was a well-established and prominent lawyer in Toronto, as well as a solicitor and notary.[98]

Pitt felt that the idea was an excellent one. He considered purchasing the property a "safe venture ... a most desirable move", and a "wise decision", particularly as the revenue produced by the property would be sufficient to cover "all annual obligations." The purchase, he wrote, could turn out to be "a working and profitable venture," if the members cooperated, and the administration of the property was carried out in an honest and business-like manner. Accordingly, he "strongly" advised the division to go through with the purchase.[99]

Encouraged by such positive and optimistic comments, the association concluded the transaction on November 12, 1943.[100] The mortgage was to be paid in full to Mrs. William

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[97]Formed after Garvey's death and the struggle for power resulting from it, this committee will be discussed in chapter 7. As the name suggests, its function was to "rehabilitate" the organization.

[98]Pitt' Toronto office was at 168 Dundas St. W. in the then Royal Bank of Canada Building.

[99]"Pitt to UNIA, June 26, 1943," Prop. File 6, ACHA Archives.

[100]Deed of Sale No. 12637. It was registered on Nov. 22, 1943, with the number 566035. Prop. File 2.

R. Sandison and not to Vanier because he was indebted to her. Beginning on May 15, 1944, payments were to be made twice yearly, on the 15th day of May and November. With the signing of the deed in the notarial offices of Bourke, Hutchison and Stevenson,[101] the UNIA realized its long-held dream of becoming a landlord rather than remaining a tenant.

The manner in which the organization raised the money to carry out the transaction will be discussed at this point. It is important because it helps to demonstrate the determination of the members to be landlords rather than tenants. It also sheds light on the nature of the movement and the character of its dedicated members, especially as it relates to cooperation among people of African descent.

By the time the UNIA was ready to make use of its Building Fund for the purpose for which it was established, the fund stood at only $1,802. Of this figure, $1,302 were on deposit at the Montreal City and District Savings Bank[102] at the corner of Vinet and St. James Street, and $500 were in the form of Victory Bond Z040409. At a meeting held on August 3, 1943,[103] President E.J. Tucker, Secretary-Treasurer Theresa Cooper, and Mr. Desmond Adams were appointed trustees for the

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[101] Deed of Sale No. 12637, Op. Cit.

[102] MB 3, pp. 6-7. Undated minutes, Prop. File 6.

[103] Hereafter abbreviated as MC&DSB.

purpose of carrying out the transaction. Among the powers which they received was the right to withdraw the amount of money in the Building Fund at the MC&BSB and apply it to the purchase of the property.[104]

This took care of the liquid asset. It was necessary to adopt the proper procedures for making use of the bond as part of the downpayment. This was done at a meeting held on October 14, 1943, at which the trustees were empowered to convert the bond for use towards "the purchase of property known as civic No's 2201-2209 St. James and 702-712 Fulford Street."[105]

Purchasing this property must have been a rather sobering and educational experience for the officers and members of the UNIA. As they had understood the transaction, they were required to have $3,500 to bring the matter to a successful conclusion, since the purchase price was $20,000 and the balance of sale was $16,500. At the time when the offer was made, $500 had been paid towards the downpayment in order to show the seriousness of the offer. This meant that the association was short by $1,698 to complete the downpayment.[106]

To help make up the difference, the organization decided to borrow money from its members, other UNIA units, and from -

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[104] MB 3, p. 8.

[105] Ibid., p. 9.

[106] Interviews with Tucker, Cooper, Marshalleck, and Beckford.

well-wishers. The trustees were empowered to take the steps necessary to put this fund-raising project into effect.[107] Special consideration was given to the Toronto Division and its members in this regard, because they were closely associated with their Montreal counterparts largely through Pitt and other members who travelled between the two cities. Section 4 of the resolution which was adopted on August 3, 1943, made this point:

> That this division accept cooperation from the Toronto Div. #21 and the Trustees hereinbefore named are empowered to add at its (sic) discretion, members of the Toronto Div. as members of the Board of Management, or the Board of Trustees to manage the said building.[108]

Attempting to raise funds for the building project in this manner was not new to the organization. As early as 1922, it had started soliciting contributions for this purpose.[109] Judging from the slow growth of the Building Fund, such a campaign was not very successful, but it continued well into the 1930's.[110]

With their backs to the wall, the UNIA members felt that they had nothing to lose in trying this route for yet

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[107] MB 3, p. 7.

[108] Ibid.

[109] May 7, 1922, Sub. List, Fund Raising File 1, ACHA Archives.

[110] June 1, 1936, Sub. List, Ibid.

another time. They made a major modification, however, opting to borrow the money from supporters rather than to depend on financial hand outs. The result was quite encouraging. From Toronto came $1,000, while individuals in Montreal contributed $740 in loans. The distribution can be seen in Table II:[111]

Table II. - Loans to Montreal UNIA re Purchase of Property in 1943.

Toronto	Amount	Montreal	Amount
UNIA Division	$300.00[a]	Mrs. ~~F. Tucker~~	$200.00
Mr. B.J.S. Pitt	50.00[a]	Mr. E.J. Tucker	105.00
Pitt's Coll.	600.00[b]	Miss R. Jones	100.00
Mrs. S. Phillips	50.00	Mr. W. Meade	100.00
		Mrs. A. Shaw	100.00
		Mr. H.P. Smith	50.00
		Mr. A. Griffiths	50.00
		Miss V. Francis	35.00
Total	$1,000.00		$740.00

a Represents Pitt's personal contribution.
b Pitt collected this money from individuals.

When the UNIA representatives reached the notarial offices of Bourke, Hutchison and Stevenson to finalize the purchase, they were surprised to learn that an additional sum of $669.87, over and above the expected downpayment, was needed. This figure consisted of notarial and registration fees of $47.00, and $622.87 to cover "adjustments." The latter consisted of the pro rata rebate to which the vendor was entitled because

111 Promissory notes and letters in Fund Raising File 2, ACHA Archives. Pitt's Nov. 13, 1943, Report to UNIA re purchase of the property in Property File 6.

he had already paid all rates, taxes, and insurance praemia for the entire year. In addition, a large supply of coal had been purchased for heating purposes and the unused portion was to be left on the premises for use by the new owner.[112] These additional costs did not represent anything new or unusual, since they are nearly always associated with the purchase of property which had already been in use. The fact that the UNIA and advisors had overlooked them may be attributed to over-anxiety or inexperience. Certainly, not many people of African descent had had the experience of purchasing property in Montreal at that time.[113]

Whatever the reason, the UNIA had to go to their bank, the MC&DSB at Vinet and St. James Streets, to negotiate a loan. Fortunately for them, the members and the organization had been doing business there for many years and had developed a good reputation with the bank. Even so, Manager J.H. Chaplaine made the loan with rather severe conditions attached. The UNIA was required to repay $100.00 by the following Tuesday, $200.00 ten days afterwards, and the remaining $327.87 "within ten or fifteen days" after the second instalment.[114] This represented the entire loan including principal and interest. These

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[112] Pitt's Nov. 13, 1943, Report, Op. Cit.

[113] Many Montreal Blacks lived in rooming or apartment houses at that time. Today, many own their own homes both in the city proper and in the suburbs.

[114] Pitt's Nov. 13, 1943, Report, Op. Cit.

stiff terms were probably due to the fact that the UNIA had not been an incorporated body at the time. This probably made the manager nervous about the ability of the individuals to look after this relatively large transaction.[115]

The association felt that it was in a position to handle these terms because of the rent which the tenants were contracted to pay. For that month, $270.00 were due from the occupants of the building. That was sufficient to take care of the second instalment, the first being covered by a bond which Pitt had left with Manager Chaplaine. The balance would be paid from rents to be collected the following month.[116] The fact that Vanier had problems collecting the rent on time, from all appearances, did not unduly perturb the UNIA. Its members had faith, went along and bought the property, and were able to repay the loan of $627.87 and accrued interest within the short time specified by the bank manager.

In discussing the manner in which the final sums of money to meet the downpayment on the property were raised, it must be pointed out that the people who, so generously loaned their money, were far from being well-to-do. For the most part,

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[115] The question of the incorporation of the UNIA will be taken up later in this chapter. It must be noted that, at that time, banks were prevented by law from from issuing mortgages. Manager Chaplaine, therefore, was providing loans, on a personal basis, to UNIA members.

[116] Pitt's Nov. 13, 1943, Report, Op. Cit.

they worked as domestic servants, railway porters, or as other types of service employees whose income was among the lowest of workers in this country.[117] It was their fervent belief in the philosophy of the UNIA which made them entrust their hard-earned money to such a project.

Another interesting feature of this drama, which helps to throw light on the nature of the organization and of its leadership, was the manner in which those creditors were repaid. In empowering its trustees to raise the funds necessary to complete the purchase of the property, the UNIA also charged them with the responsibility of ensuring that those people, who loaned their money, were repaid.[118] The records show that the organization, largely through the efforts of E.J. Tucker, Theresa Cooper, Elaine Pierre (née Cooper), John Marshalleck, and Henry J. Langdon, repaid those loans, with interest, to those people who had placed such confidence in it.

Some received their repayment within the two-year period which was specified on the promissory note.[119] Others had to wait for longer periods of time. Mr. H.P. Smith, for example, was repaid in December, 1944,[120] while Mrs. Florence

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[117] This will be developed further in chapter 3.

[118] MB 3, p. 3.

[119] Promissory Notes, Fund Raising File 2, ACHA Archives.

[120] "UNIA to Smith, Dec. 1, 1944," Prop. File 5.

Tucker was reimbursed only in 1969.[121]

Warm and appreciative letters usually accompanied the repayment of each loan. The following sent to Mr. A. Griffiths of 3018 St. Antoine Street, Montreal, is typical:

> In redemming our note, we take pleasure to acknowledge your moral and financial support to our cause for racial uplift. Your kindness at the time rendered shall not only be on our books but shall be on our mind. Please find cheque enclosed for Fifty-Five ... dollars, (Int.) included.[122]

It would be conveying a false impression not to note that there was some dissatisfaction with the way in which repayment was made. This was based on the fact that, in some cases, the UNIA did not act promptly enough to reimburse its creditors. In other cases, the calculation of the interest by the organization was questioned by its creditors.[123] In this connection, it should be noted that the promissory notes did not mention the payment of interest on the loans.[124] Subsequent loans taken out by the organization did specify that interest, at a designated rate, must be paid together with the capital. A good example of this is the case of Mrs. Amy

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[121] Florence Tucker to UNIA, August 31, 1969, Fund Raising File 2.

[122] "UNIA to Griffiths, Oct. 10, 1945," Ibid.

[123] "Rachel Broderick née Jones to UNIA, Nov. 23, 1954;" "UNIA to Broderick, Nov. 27, 1954;" "Broderick to UNIA, Dec. 1, 1954;" "Mrs. A.J. Blackwood to UNIA, Dec. 6, 1954;" "UNIA to Broderick, Dec. 7, 1954;" all in Fund Raising File 2.

[124] Ibid. This was probably an oversight as the organization did pay interest on these loans.

Shaw. As was mentioned above, she had loaned the UNIA $100.00 on October, 30, 1943, to purchase the property. The division promised to repay only the $100.00. In June, 1958, she made another loan to the division. This was for $600.00. The UNIA agreed to repay the capital and accrued interest at the rate of 6½% per annum, two years after the date of the loan.[125]

Finally on the question of the repayment of the loans, certain creditors of the UNIA had left Montreal for points as distant as Leeds, Jamaica. Others had died before repayment was made, while one specified that part of the repayment was to be made to a relative. The UNIA carried out its obligation in every case, even though it was not always prompt in doing so.[126]

The final chapter in the UNIA attempt to be masters in its own home is, in some ways, a rather sad story. One could view it, quite possibly and certainly, charitably, as yet another example of the weakness of human nature.

When the organization decided to purchase the property, it was registered but not incorporated. This meant that it

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[125] In February, 1960, Mrs. Julie Crawford loaned the organization $200.00. The promissory note specified a time limit of two years and an interest rate of 6½ per cent per annum. Fund Raising File 2.

[126] See correspondence between Miss I. Crawford, sister of Mrs. Amy Shaw who died on October 28, 1959, and the UNIA. Also, "Rosa Moore to UNIA, Nov. 11, 1952," both in Ibid.

could not own property since it was not a legal person. It was, therefore, resolved on August 3, 1943, to have it incorporated as "an Association entitled to hold property in the Province."[127] In the meantime, the title deed to the property would be made out in the names of Messers Tucker, Mackenzie, and Pitt who would hold it "in trust" for the organization until it could be transferred to the association.[128] As a consequence, the deed which was executed on November 12, 1943, bore the names of the three trustees as the purchasers.[129]

The question of having the UNIA incorporated came up on June 15, 1940, only a few days after the death of Marcus Garvey. This event triggered off problems of ownership of UNIA property among certain divisions including the New Waterford Division of Nova Scotia.[130] In turn, the members in Montreal began to consider their legal position with regard to the ownership of their assets.

Apart from an exchange of letters between the division and Pitt, nothing was done about incorporation. The executive

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[127] MB 3, p. 8.

[128] Ibid., p. 7.

[129] Deed No. 12637, Property File 6.

[130] "Pitt to UNIA, June 15, 1940," Incorporation File (hereafter Inc. File) 1, ACMA Archives. See, also, "Pitt to UNIA, August 10, and October 1, 1940," Ibid.

members were unable to arrive at a decision, so that the matter rested there until the need to seek another loan arose.[131] This was in 1958, when the UNIA went to its bank for more money. Discussions with the manager brought home to the organization the importance of incorporation and the replacement of the names of Tucker, Mackenzie, and Pitt by that of the UNIA Incorporated on the deed.[132]

The decisive factor in making the division seek to incorporate itself was the realization that complications could arise if one or more of the trustees died. Their heirs could inherit ownership of the property and decide to make life very difficult for the UNIA by insisting on their title. It was, therefore, decided to act on this matter without further delay.

The organization felt that it had every reason to expect these transactions to be routinely carried out. All papers and books were in order, and the trustees had understood their roles as temporary custodians only. The members were in for a severe shock, however, when Pitt, former UNIA stalwart, defender, and counsellor, would not cooperate.

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[131] "UNIA to Pitt, October 9, 1940," Inc. File 1. Pitt was acting as legal counsel for the Montreal Division, and the cost of the incorporation, the letter suggests, was part of the problem with the executive.

[132] Interviews with Messers Tucker, Beckford, and Langdon.

Tucker and Mackenzie had agreed, without any hesitation, to have their names removed from the title-deed in favour of the UNIA. Pitt was the stumbling block. At the time, Pitt was a very sick and broken man, living in Corona, New York. He was in and out of hospital, under the care and protection of his devoted wife, Mary, who was a qualified nurse.[133] It will probably never be known whether or not his illness affected his judgement and, therefore, his behaviour. There is no doubt, however, that he conducted himself in a manner unexpected of him and totally inconsistent with his long years of dedicated service to the UNIA.[134]

A series of letters between Tucker and Pitt tells the sad tale. As President of the organization, Tucker had complete confidence in Pitt. Some of the former's critics accused him of not being objective in his assessment of the Toronto lawyer and of placing too much confidence in him.[135] It never did occur to Tucker, therefore, that Pitt would have been the person to try and prevent the organization from becoming legal owners of the property which he, as lawyer and advisor, had helped to purchase. On June 12, 1959, Tucker poured out

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[133] Interviews with Tucker, Theresa Cooper, and Langdon. Pitt had moved to the U.S.A. from Toronto under a cloud of suspicion with respect to his legal practice.

[134] See, "A.J. Garvey to UNIA, July 8, 1942," A.J. Garvey File 2, ACHA Archives, for general assessment of Pitt.

[135] Interviews with O.N. Daniels and Mrs. D. Sweeney.

his disbelief and frustration to Pitt in these words:

> Brother Pitt I never thought for a moment, that you would have treat (sic) this division and its members in this way. No man living or dead could have made me believe that you would have refused to release to the division its rights. You had said from the start that the property should be bought in the name of the organization.[136]

This plea came after Tucker had urged him to consider what effect his refusal would have on his reputation. He wrote, "I would like to see the good name of lawyer Pitt long live with the members of the Montreal Division and the people who loaned their money."[137] After wondering if the fact that Pitt's loan to the organization which was not, as yet repaid, could have been the reason, Tucker pledged to correct the situation without further delay.[138] With such a long time between loan and repayment, Pitt, especially in his sick condition, may have been influenced to act in that way.

When his direct appeal to Pitt produced no results, Tucker turned to Pitt's wife, Mary, for assistance. Mary Pitt and the Tuckers were very good friends, exchanging letters and visits over the years. He, therefore, felt that she would

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[136]"Tucker to Pitt, June 12, 1959," Transfer File 1, ACHA Archives.

[137]"Tucker to Pitt, November 8, 1958," Ibid.

[138]"Tucker to Pitt, July 13, 1959," Ibid.

help him in this dilemma, especially as she, too, was an ardent Garveyite. He was disappointed, once again, because Mary Pitt proved evasive and uncooperative.[139] Tucker, who had been trying to keep this affair away from the membership, had no alternative but to put it before the organization. At a special meeting, the executive committee voted to give Attorney S.S. Fels, who was then acting as legal advisor to the UNIA, the authority to take legal action against Pitt.[140]

Attorney Fels went to work, commencing legal proceedings almost immediately. On December 18, 1961, the Superior Court ruled against Pitt, ordering him to transfer the one-third interest in the property, which was in his name, to the UNIA. He had been stripped of his interest because he had refused even to answer a summons from the court.[141]

Pitt came out of this unsavoury episode the real loser in evey respect. His reputation was seriously, perhaps irretreviably tarnished, and he was deprived of a considerable sum of money in the process. In his judgement, Superior Court Judge G.B. Puddicombe held Pitt responsible for the case and, as a result, ruled that he must bear all the legal costs in-

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[139] "Tucker to Mary Pitt, Oct. 22, 1958," "Mary Pitt to Tucker, Oct. 28, 1958," Mary Pitt File, ACHA Archives.

[140] Minutes of Special Meeting held on Dec. 20, 1960, Special Minutes File, ACHA Archives.

[141] Superior Court Judgement No. 529-965, May 2, 1961 Transfer File 2.

volved. Thus, instead of receiving $537.50, which represented the capital and interest left from his original loan, he received only $136.20, the difference being paid in court costs.[142]

Attorney Fels, on December 3, 1962, wrote the UNIA that its incorporation as a company was finally complete, the actual date being July 30, 1962. In addition, he was happy to be able to report that the property was "registered in the name of The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League..."[143] Thus ended the rather long and, in many instances, frustrating attempt on the part of the Montreal Division to own its home legally as well as morally. The members would have preferred to have avoided the sad aspects, but they were not given very much choice in the matter.

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[142] Superior Court Judgement No. 529-965, May 2, 1961, Ibid. The breakdown of the financial transaction is as follows: Original loan = $750.00. Interest on loan at 5% from Nov. 1943 to Nov. 1945 = $112.50. Total owed = $862.50. Less $500.00 repaid in Nov. 1946, leaving $362.50 + interest from Nov. 1946 to March 1960 of $175.00. Therefore total owing Pitt came to $537.50.

[143] "Fels to UNIA, December 3, 1962," Incorporation File 5, ACHA Archives.

CHAPTER III

MEMBERSHIP

According to the constitution of the UNIA, membership was reserved for people of African descent.[1] It also made a distinction between "active" and "ordinary" members. The former were those people who "paid the monthly dues for the upkeep of the organization," while the latter comprised "all persons of Negro blood and African ancestry."[2]

In order to be admitted into active membership, a person must complete an application form which contained the usual items pertaining to place of birth, nationality, age, address, next of kin, marital status, occupation and the like. Included was the unusual question whether or not the applicant intended to work for the "uplift" of the UNIA and to "defend its cause."[3] With the acceptance of the completed form and the approval of the applicant by the executive, the person became a member of the association.

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[1] Constitution and Book of Laws (hereafter Constitution), In Effect July, 1918, Revised and Amended August 1920 and August, 1921, Article IX, Section 1, p. 24.

[2] The Constitution, Ibid.

[3] Completed application forms, Membership File (hereafter MF) 1, ACHA Archives.

In addition to the general requirement that a member was expected to work for the advancement of the African race as well as propagate the principles of the UNIA, he had other obligations to meet. They were of a more practical nature, and included the payment of certain dues.

There was first an entrance fee of 25 cents which had to accompany the application form. There was a monthly assessment of 35 cents. The local division kept 25 cents of this sum, while the remaining 10 cents went to the Parent Body or International Headquarters.[4] A member was also required to pay a monthly death tax of 10 cents. This was sent to the Parent Body which administered the "death fund" from which $75.00 were paid to the next of kin of a member who, prior to his or her death, had "paid up his or her last month's complete dues."[5] An annual surtax of $1.00 per member was levied against each division. This was to be sent to the Parent Body and was used for "defraying expenses in connection with the leaders and high officials" of the UNIA.[6]

Members were also expected to participate in and promote the various social and fund-raising activities put on by

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[4]The Constitution, Article VIII, Section 3, p. 22.

[5]Ibid., Article III, Section 28, p. 40. This provision does not appear in the 1938 revision of the constitution. By that time, the "death fund", as a result of maladministration, inefficiency and corruption, had dried up.

[6]Ibid., Article VIII, Section 1, p. 22.

their division. They were also encouraged to purchase and sell buttons, pins, photographs and other promotional material and memorabilia of the organization. They were urged to subscribe to and sell the various publications put out by the Parent Body, especially the Negro World. In this way, additional financial contributions were made to the UNIA.[7]

On being received into the association, the new member was formally welcomed by the president. This official took the opportunity to inform the person that the constitution and laws of the organization were supreme and must be obeyed at all times.[8] The "aims and objects" of the organization were then explained, and the new member was urged "to work harmoniously with each member" to achieve unity among people of African descent everywhere. The initiate was also cautioned against discussing "the business of this Association with strangers or in public places." Failure to observe this injunction was a major cause for the difficulties which black organizations had experienced in the past. He was also told that he had a responsibility to assist in the recruitment work of the association and to participate in its various functions.[9] It was only after he had received

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[7] Interviews with Tucker et al.

[8] The Constitution, Article V, Section 10, p. 14.

[9] Excerpted from the "Pledge" which the divisional president was required to read before new members were finally admitted. It was sent out by the Parent Body. See MF 2. for a copy.

these instructions that the person was given his membership certificate.

This certificate was distributed to all divisions throughout the world by the Parent Body. Provisions were made for it in the constitution.[10] It was regionalized by the fact that the attesting signatures on it were those of the divisional executive rather than those of the central administration. It also bore the seal of the particular division to which the member belonged.

As with most of the undertakings and production of the UNIA, the membership certificate was rather impressive and dignified, thereby making it an attractive and desirable possession. There is little doubt that it represented one of the recruitment instruments of the movement. It did more than "set forth in brief the purpose of the organization."[11] It testified that the person was a "duly registered active member" of the UNIA which embraced "the millions of men, women and children of Negro blood and African descent of all countries of the world." The person, it explained, now belonged to an association which was striving for "the FREEDOM, MANHOOD, and NATIONALISM [emphasis in the original] of the Negro." Such a person undertook to work hard in order "to hand down to posterity a FLAG OF EMPIRE [emphasis in the original] - to restore to the

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[10] Article III, Section 21, p. 38.

[11] Ibid.

world an Ethiopian Nation one and Indivisible out of which shall come our princes and rulers." In this way he would bequeath to future generations of Blacks "the heritage of an Ancestry worthy of their time and thoughtful of the future."[12]

There is little doubt that the physical appearance, as well as the inspiring message written in almost biblical prose, went a long way in attracting people into the organization. When it is remembered that the majority of the people, for whom it was intended, were poor and oppressed and whose racial heritage was constantly portrayed in a most negative manner, it is not difficult to understand the positive effect that this certificate would have on them. The writer has met veteran Garveyites who were able to quote verbatim from this document.[13]

Immediately after its establishment, the division carried out what appears to have been a successful membership drive. According to the May, 1929, executive statement, the leadership role in this campaign was assumed by Henry Hall, the first president of the division. Hall is credited with registering "400 Negroes within twelve months of operation."[14] This claim, which at first seems exaggerated, may very well be

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[12] Membership Certificate File (hereafter MCF) 2,

[13] At the 1978 UNIA convention held in Kingston, Jamaica, members came from Montreal, Toronto, and several U.S. cities. These certificates were proudly displayed in homes.

[14] HF 1.

close to the truth when the following factors are taken into consideration.

At this time the movement was at its zenith both in Canada and in the rest of the world. Officers and members worked with unrestrained enthusiasm because the message was new and attractive. There were, as yet, no scandals to diminish their zeal or to cause them to question the association or its leadership. These would come at a later date.

The period, too, was one of difficult economic conditions. This resulted from the attempt of the economy to adjust from war-time to peace-time circumstances, resulting in what one historian has described as "deep depression."[15] The gospel, according to Marcus Garvey, with its emphasis on economic self-help, must have had particular appeal to a finacially and economically depressed people. When this is added to the manner in which Blacks were treated both during the First World War and the immediate post-war period, any appeal to them which stressed organization along racial lines, was not likely to fall on too many deaf ears. After all, not only was there open discrimination against people of African descent who had to fight to get into the armed forces of Canada, but there were race riots in places such as Truro, N.S., and Liverpool, England between

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[15] J.B. Brebner, Canada A Modern History, Ann Arbour, Michigan, U. of Michigan Press, 1970, p. 424. The post-war period was characterized by unrest both in the urban and industrial parts of Canada, and also in the farming areas.

black and white servicemen.[16]

According to available records, the division had enrolled approximately 700 members by the end of 1922.[17] It must immediately be pointed out that this does not necessarily mean that there were 700 active members in the organization at any one time. People were associating themselves with the division at the very same time that others were leaving it. It simply means that membership documents show that approximately 700 persons had actually joined the Montreal Division during that period.

In order to get a sound idea as to the number of active or dues-paying or financial members[18] which the organization had during its formative years and periods following them, the total monthly dues collected by the division would be used as the starting point. Since an active member was required to pay 35 cents per month, the total dues paid for the year, when divided by $4.20, would produce a very close approximation to the number of financial members for that year. Figures are

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[16] Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada A History, Montreal, McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1971, pp. 313-320 and Leo W. Bertley, Canada and Its People of African Descent, Pierrefonds, Bilongo Publishers, 1977, pp. 71-75, for black participation in the First World War.

[17] Membership Book 1, ACHA Archives. This book covers the 1920-1926 period.

[18] "Active", "dues-paying", and "financial" will be used interchangeably during this study.

available for the 1920-1934 period. With the exception of 1920 and 1934, they are all for the full twelve months. For the years 1920 and 1934, figures are for 6 months only.

The following conclusions are reached from a study of these statistics. The year, 1921, represents the high point of the division as far as financial members were concerned. That year the association collected $387.55 in dues, signifying that approximately 92 people were financial members. The nadir was reached in 1933 when there were only about 5 dues-paying members. This information is summarized in Table III.

Table III.- Financial Members from 1920 - 1934.[19]

Year	Membership
1920	45
1921	92
1922	71
1923	43
1924	45
1925	37
1926	41
1927	42
1928	44
1929	38
1930	30
1931	25
1932	13
1933	5
1934	7

These figures do not necessarily negate the claims made by the 1929 executive statement which may have been based on

[19] Collated from financial records in Ledgers 1 and 2.

names in the membership books and lists. A 1920 report to the Parent Body, for example, placed the number of members at 193 for the August-December, 1920, period.[20] Since the divisions were required to pay dues to the Parent Body in relation to their actual membership, the Montreal Division would most likely have reported only those members who had paid up their dues in full. It would hardly wish to be taxed for a person who merely filled out a membership card, but who did not contribute any money to the coffers of the organization. In terms of dues collected for the entire year, as shown in Table III, however, there were only 45 financial members in the division for that 12-month period. This apparent discrepancy may have been the result of many factors including incomplete and faulty record-keeping, lost documents, or exaggerated claims on the part of the leadership of the division.

Another document reported that there were 150 new [my emphasis] members in 1920.[21] Does this mean that there was a mass withdrawal of members during that year? As far as can be determined from interviews, no such withdrawal occurred. According to the same source, 88 new [my emphasis] members were inducted into the division the following year. In spite of this, the dues collected

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[20] Monthly Report for August to December, 1920, Monthly Report File (hereafter MRF) 1, ACHA Archives.

[21] Ledger 5, p. 355.

for that year suggest an approximate membership of only 92. If, as veteran members insisted, very large numbers belonged to the organization during the 1920-1922 period, one is forced to conclude that the division had great difficulties collecting its dues.[22] An alternative conclusion, of course, is the possibility that the veterans interviewed did not make a distinction in their minds between "active" and "ordinary" or social members.

It must be pointed out that membership in the organization on the part of an individual did mean that other people, who had not themselves joined, were, nevertheless, closely associated with it. The spouse of a member may or may not necessarily have paid the money required to join the division. This did not prevent them from participating in activities put on by the association. The children and other dependents also fall into this category. In addition, many children belonged to the juvenile branch of the UNIA.[23]

When these factors are taken into consideration, inspite of the uncertainty regarding actual numbers who could be considered financial, there can be little doubt that the division actively and directly played an important role in the lives of

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[22] Veterans include E.J. Tucker, John Marshalleck, O.N. Daniels, Theresa and Frank Cooper. The problem of pinning down the precise number of financial members in a UNIA division has always proven difficult.

[23] Article III, Section 62 of the Constitution, p. 48, makes provision for establishing juvenile branches. The juvenile auxiliary of the Montreal Division will be discussed in chapter 5.

Montreal's black citizens. The latter formed a rather small section of the community totalling, if the 1921 census is to be believed, only 862 souls. There were, at that time, 618,506 people in Montreal. The same census placed the total black population in Canada at 1,046 souls.[24] Although these figures are gross underestimations of the true black population both in Montreal and Canada of that day, they, nevertheless, point to the fact that Canadian residents of African descent were few and far between.

Census takers in Canada have traditionally experienced difficulties in enumerating the black population of this country. As early as the 1851 census, the reasons for the underestimation of the true black population were clearly stated in the census report. It was affirmed that many enumerators were guilty of "negligence and ignorance." Blacks themselves compounded the problem by choosing to classify themselves as "Americans", "West Indians", or "Natives" of Canada rather than as "Coloured Persons", the designation used in the census. They were, therefore, counted in accordance with their nationality rather than in terms of their racial background.[25] Furthermore, people of

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[24] Sixth Census of Canada, Vol. 1, p. 542. See p. 357 for total black population of Canada.

[25] 1851-52 Census of the Canadas, p. iv. Note, once again, that people of African descent did tend to emphasize their regional and national differences at the expense of racial solidarity. This, of course, is contrary to UNIA teachings.

African descent tended to view the census takers with suspicion and did not willingly cooperate, in many cases, with them.[26]

Although these statements were made about the 1851-1852 census, interviews with black senior citizens suggested that, to some degree, they were applicable to censuses taken after that date. Not one person who was interviewed believed that the black population of 1921 was a mere 862. They felt that "a few thousands" would be much closer to reality.[27]

The 1920-1922 period represented the glory years of the division as far as total membership was concerned. The organization as a whole was at its peak at that time. In 1918 its weekly newspaper, the Negro World, was founded, thereby providing the UNIA with one of its most effective propaganda instruments. The following year, 1919, the Black Star Line was launched, affording the organization with yet another formidable public relations device. In 1920, the First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World was held in New York City. Even the severest critic of the UNIA agreed that the convention, from all points of view, was a spectacular success. All these milestones in the life of the UNIA fired the imagination of black people everywhere, and they played a most important part in the recruitment drive of the various units.[28]

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[26] 1851-52 Census of the Canadas, Ibid.

[27] Interview notes.

[28] Black Moses, Garvey and Garveyism, passim.

After those years, the organization began a long and steady decline which was reflected in the decreased membership. Several factors are responsible for this erosion of numbers and loss of prestige. Perhaps the starting point was the indictment of Garvey in 1922 and his subsequent imprisonment in the Atlanta penitentiary on the charge of using the U.S. mails to defraud would-be investors in the Black Star Line.[29] As was to be expected, those members who were not fired with a great deal of enthusiasm for the organization dropped their affiliation altogether. The more zealous followers remained in the organization, but with questions, even doubts, on their mind.[30]

The prolonged legal proceedings involving Garvey also played an important part. They began in 1922 and did not really end until 1927 when President Coolidge commuted the sentence, and Garvey was deported from the U.S.A. These legal battles consumed considerable time, energy, and money, significantly reducing the ability of the Parent Body and its affiliated divisions to deal with organizational matters including membership drives or, even, consolidation. The result was a further erosion in the numbers of people who retained their affil-

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[29]For accounts of Garvey's arrest, trial, imprisonment, commutation of sentence etc., see the following: Black Moses, pp. 101-137, Garvey and Garveyism, passim, Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, Part 2, and Trials and Triumphs of Marcus Garvey, pp. 62-92.

[30]Interview notes.

iation with the association.

Unfortunately for the UNIA, additional problems arose during these difficult years. These involved primarily the operation of the death benefit fund. This led many people to suspect that fraud was involved although, frequently, it was a case of the proper application of the rules and regulations governing the fund.

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, in order for the estate of a deceased member to receive the $75.00 death benefit, the deceased must have been in good financial standing at the time of death. This was defined in the constitution to mean that such a person must "have paid six months' general dues as an active member", and must have been in the UNIA for 6 months.[31] In spite of this clearly-worded provision, the next of kin of many a deceased person expected to receive the $75.00 regardless of the status of the member at the time of death. Failure to receive this sum of money led to the feeling that some form of corruption, fraud and misappropriation of funds was involved.[32]

This suspicion was reinforced when the Parent Body sent a circular letter to all divisions, asking them to "cancel

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[31] Article III, Sections 28 and 29, pp. 40 and 41.

[32] "Parent Body to UNIA Divisions, Feb. 9, 1922," "Parent Body to Montreal Division, Dec. 23, 1921," "Garvey to Varna Chambers, Dec. 18, 1937," Death Benefit File, ACHA Archives.

against the Parent Body all past and standing death claims." The letter explained that "many financial setbacks", including the legal fees involved in the Garvey trial, had drained the treasury to the point where headquarters was "unable to meet all these death claims." In order to have the desired effect, the letter bore the address of the Tombs prison, New York City, where Garvey, who signed on behalf of the Parent Body, was incarcerated. He was awaiting his release on bail.[33]

One can be certain that the image of the leader languishing in prison must have struck the hearts of many a member. Their heads, however, must have reminded them that they had been contributing additional funds to defend their President General against all legal charges.[34] They must have wondered, therefore, why it was necessary for the Parent Body to divert money from the death fund to meet those same legal fees. Their scepticism must have increased when they recalled how generously they had invested in the Black Star Line. Between 1919 and 1922 approximately 40,000 of them had bought 155,510 shares of stocks worth more than three-quarters of a million dollars. On January 5, 1922, the company had only $31.12 in its bank account and no assets worth talking about.[35] Even martyrdom, which is

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[33]"Parent Body to Montreal Division, July 20, 1923," "Montreal Division to Parent Body, Sept. 24, 1923," Death Benefit File.

[34]Garvey's Defence Fund File, ACHA Archives.

[35]Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 77-102, and p. 114.

the manner in which many supporters viewed Garvey's legal problems, had an upper financial limit. As one would expect, such financial mismanagement, if not outright corruption, did very little to inspire confidence in the general membership.

The erosion of the support for the UNIA was both encouraged and accelerated by that sector of American Negro leadership, including most of the Negro press, which was hostile to Garvey and his ideas. These critics launched a relentless attack on the President General whom, inter alia, they denounced as a charlatan and a dangerous person. They charged that he was misleading the mass of black people, exploiting their real suffering and tribulations for his own personal gain.[36] Given the suspicious behaviour of the Parent Body as far as the death benefit fund, Black Star Line money and other financial matters were concerned, such attacks must have had some negative effects on the attitude of even the most ardent Garveyite towards his organization.

Other problems, which helped to reduce the membership of the UNIA in general and the Montreal Division in particular, were completely out of the hands of the UNIA. They were asso-

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[36] Among the leading critics were Robert S. Abbott of the Chicago Defender, Cyril Briggs of the New York Crusader, George W. Harris of the New York News, Chandler Owen and Asa Philip Randolph of the Messenger, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois of the NAACP publication, Crisis; Harry H. Pace, John E. Nail, and Julia P. Coleman, who were business people; and William Pickens and Robert W. Bagnall who were employees of the NAACP.

ciated with the Great Depression which lasted from 1929 to 1939. Black people in Montreal suffered from serious economic problems as did their white counterparts. Veteran Montrealers of African descent insist that their people were the hardest hit by the catastrophe since they were the first to be fired and the last to be hired.[37] Certainly, as people engaged mostly in the unskilled and service jobs, Blacks were among those whose jobs were the easiest to fill. Unemployment was extremely high and those lucky enough to find work were largely hired on a part-time basis. The young were particulalry vulnerable at this time. As Secretary W.H. Duke wrote towards the end of the depression, "Most of our young people are unemployed."[38] To find jobs, or at least to find areas where social welfare and relief were less niggardly doled out, many Blacks left Montreal, with the majority going to the U.S.A.[39]

Compounding the difficulties which the UNIA was undergoing at that time was the partial breakdown in communication between the Parent Body and Marcus Garvey on the one hand, and the Montreal Division on the other. After the early and mid-1920's, it would seem that the correspondence from the Parent

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[37]People such as Rev. C. Este, O.N. Daniels, E.J. Tucker, Walter Keizer, Frank and Theresa Cooper.

[38]"Duke to Industrial Committee of Montreal Youth Council, April 25, 1938," Social and Economic Conditions File (hereafter SEC File), ACHA Archives.

[39]Interview notes.

Body dealt primarily with requests for financial contributions. While the money sought may have been needed by headquarters, one could certainly have gained the impression that the division tended to hear from the Parent Body only when the latter was in need of money. In reply to a request for an additional $25.00 needed to defray the costs of yet another legal struggle in which the international body was embroiled, the Montreal Division expressed its frustration over the lack of communication with the Parent Body.

> ... owing to the fact that we do not hear from Mr. Garvey or the Parent Body, we are like a body without a head. This fact caused many of our members to drift away and makes it somewhat impossible to influence anyone to become a member. Can you give any reason why Mr. Garvey will not respond in spite of the fact that we have written several times; Even Glace Bay, Cape Breton, N.S. is writing to us to find out if we hear from Parent Body. We cannot hope to keep the Division functioning properly or make appreciable impression in Montreal with the Programme of the UNIA without hearing from the Official head.[40]

This letter, written by E.J. Langdon who, at the time, was president of the association, speaks for itself.

The decline in membership, as illustrated by the graph on the following page, continued after the end of the depression. During the Second World War, the black population of Montreal increased because people of African descent, mainly from the

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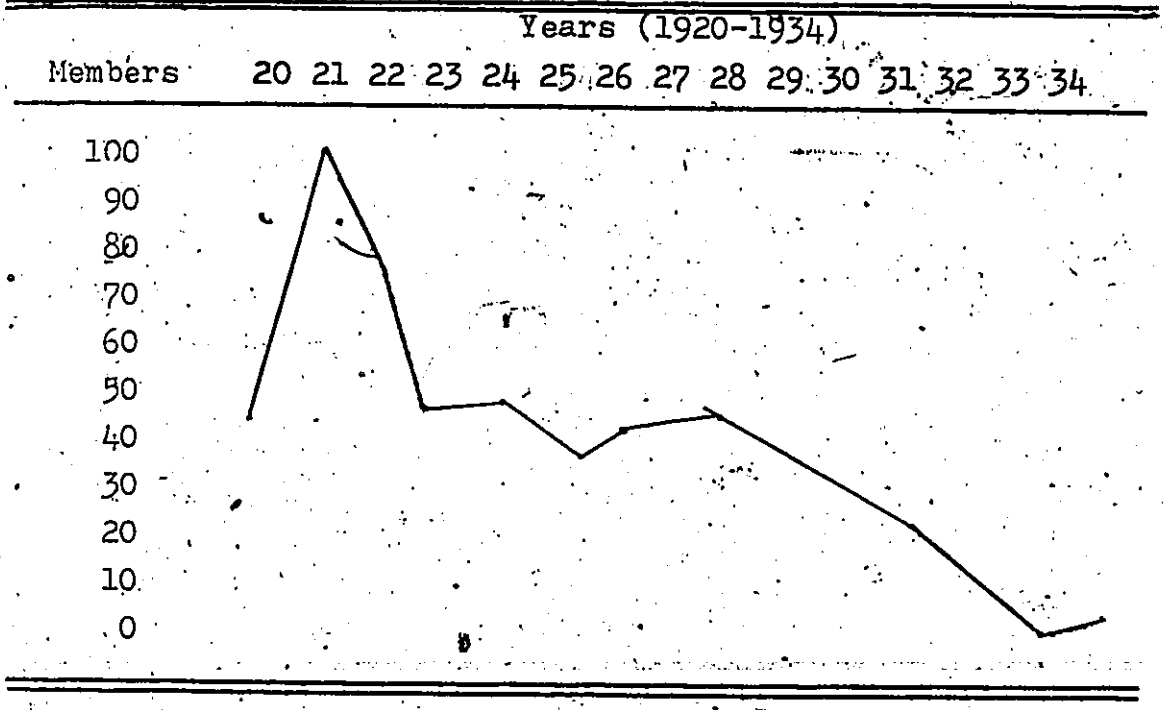
[40] "UNIA to International Organizer, April 3, 1933," MF 4, ACHA Archives.

Atlantic Provinces and the Caribbean, came to find work in the war industries of the city. As a result of this influx, the membership of the UNIA increased.

Graph I. - Decline in UNIA Membership.



The basic pattern was the same as that observed earlier in this chapter: the number of people listed as members far exceeded the actual money collected in dues. The secretary of the division told the story in a letter which he wrote to the Parent Body in 1940. Duke explained that there were "about 80 names on our roll," but "only about 10" attended meetings regularly", and only one single person was "financial".[41] The black population of Montreal must have been more than 2,000 souls since the 1941 census recorded that 2,037 Blacks lived

[41] "UNIA to Parent Body, Nov. 12, 1940," MF 4.

in the "urban" centres of Quebec.[42] Since almost all people of African descent were to be found in Montreal at that time, it follows that this city had at least two thousand Blacks.[43] It must also be observed that Black veterans are convinced that the census figure was a gross underestimation.

By 1943, the numbers listed in the membership records declined once more. There were 30 names on the membership rolls, representing a reduction of 50 or 62.5% in three years. Once again, consistent with the pattern already established, only about one-third paid their membership dues with any degree of regularity.[44]

This decrease in membership can be explained by the exigencies of war. Many black Montreal males left the city to participate in the war. Some fought in the Canadian armed forces. Others, because of discrimination on the part of the Canadian military, found it easier to fight in the armed forces of countries such as the U.S.A.[45] In any event, they left Montreal during this period, and the UNIA suffered as a result.

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[42] Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Vol. II, p. 275.

[43] Interview notes.

[44] Membership Book 3, ACHA Archives.

[45] Interviews with Henry Langdon, Roy States, Rev. Donald Thomas of New Glasgow, N.S., and Seymour Tyler of St. John, N.B., all of whom served in W.W. II. See Bertley, Canada and Its People of African Descent, p. 176, and Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 421.

This trend away from the organization continued after the war came to an end. The older members, the mainstay of the organization, were either dying out or losing the energy necessary to keep the division dynamic. For their part, the younger generation tended to look upon it as a club for senior citizens. This viewpoint was encouraged by the fact that the leadership of the association was in the hands of members of long standing who, it has been argued, did very little to make it attractive to younger people.[46]

As far as can be determined, there was no conspiracy, as it were, to keep out young blood. The problem seemed to have resulted from a failure, on the part of senior members, to understand the changing needs of society and the adaptations necessary to meet them. The leadership continued to view the problems faced by people of African descent in precisely the same manner in which Garvey had perceived them. What they failed to realize was that Garvey's perceptions were based on a world that had not fought its "First Great War", and had not undergone the significant changes which that military and social revolutionary force had unleashed. The evidence seems to suggest that the Montreal Divisidn was fast becoming inadequate and ill-equipped to meet the challenges and difficulties which the Blacks had to face in a Montreal changed by two big

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[46] Interviews with Daisy Sweeney, Martha Griffiths, and Alan Husbands who were junior members of the division.

wars and a catastrophic depression.[47]

One of the changes which resulted from these important forces was the growing power of the integrationist movement. Many people of goodwill, both black and white, felt that integration of both communities was the best answer to the problems faced by Canadian and U.S. society with respect to the African-European race conflicts. During the 1950's and 1960's, integration became the key word. Organizations which pursued that goal were then most fashionable. The UNIA, with its undisguised and militant philosophy of the primacy of race was, at best, considered an embarrassment by the integrationists who were in the ascendant. To such people, the UNIA was a black separatist, even racist, organization which was trying to block the "progress" which they were making towards their dream of an integrated colour-blind society. Such a group, therefore, was to be avoided at all costs.[48]

It took the obvious failure of such an approach for the black militant and activist teachings of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA to resurface. It did not appear under the same name, but the message and, even the symbols, were clearly those

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[47] Interviews with old stalwarts such as Tucker and Marshalleck and younger people such as Sweeney and Husbands give rise to this interpretation.

[48] This interpretation is based on interviews, readings, participation in black conferences and general observation.

of Garvey and his organization. As a result, the UNIA received something of a boost.[49]

The Montreal Division shared in this partial renaissance. The Computer Centre crisis at Sir George Williams University (now a campus of Concordia University), when a student protest ended with the destruction of the institution's computers,[50] led many young Montreal Blacks to discover Liberty Hall, 710 Georges Vanier Boulevard. It had remained practically dormant for years but, in the winter of 1969-1970, it became alive once again. Meetings of indignation and protest, as well as social and educational sessions, were conducted there.[51] The group responsible for organizing these activities took the name of the February Eleven Defence Committee. It consisted of the more determined and, apparently, radical members of the black community who surfaced as a result of the computer crisis.

In terms of taking out membership in the division and paying dues, these activities centred in Liberty Hall, produced

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[49] Publishing houses and other businesses were not slow to recognize the financial benefits to be derived from this movement. Suddenly books, which were out of print for years and which dealt with topics of a Black Studies nature, reappeared. The best example is the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.

[50] Dorothy Eber, The Computer Center Party, Montreal Tundra Books, 1969, and Dennis Forsythe, ed., Let the Niggers Burn, Montreal Black Rose Books, 1971, are two books which deal with this crisis.

[51] The author, for example, was asked to give a series of lectures in Black History.

no results. Membership remained limited to the few veterans of the organization. Once the Computer Centre crisis faded from the front pages, the enthusiasm of most radicals waned.[52] The UNIA, once again, became the forgotten institution and had to depend on its small active and dedicated membership.[53] Today, the division no longer speaks in terms of active or dues-paying members since there are none. This is not to say that it is not functioning. The members number about a dozen people who are dedicated to keeping the spirit of Garvey alive. At the same time, they are in search of a way and a programme which would make the organization meaningful to the black community of the 1980's and beyond.[54] In addition, they make contributions to the organization and to the Parent Body while administering the property which the division purchased almost thirty seven years ago.

Before going on to other items such as occupations of the members, a brief discussion on the structure of the exec-

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[52] An interesting and instructive lesson will probably be learned from a study of the present status of those self-styled radicals. As far as I know, two are very conservative medical doctors, one is a contented lawyer, one joined the establishment Liberal Party of Canada and ran, unsuccessfully, in the 1979 federal elections.

[53] Messers Tucker and Langdon always make the point that people know the UNIA only when they are in difficulties. They, therefore, try their best to ensure that no such opportunists get control of the organization.

[54] Decided at a special meeting held on Jan. 5, 1976, when Mr. H.J. Langdon replaced Mr. E.J. Tucker as president. See Special Minutes File 2, ACHA Archives.

utive of the division will be undertaken. This is done because it helps to throw some light on the numbers of people who belonged to the association in its early years and during its period of decline.

According to the constitution, the number of officers that a division was permitted to carry depended on the total membership of that division. Only divisions with a minimum of 300 members were allowed the full complement of officers, some 16 positions. With the exception of the executive secretary, who was a civil servant of the Parent Body and was appointed by the President General, all officers were elected by the general membership.[55]

When the Montreal Division was at its peak, it had a full complement of officers, with the exception of the third vice-president of the Ladies' Division. There was keen competition for these positions which, in keeping with the constitution, were held for three years.[56] In 1921, for example, the presidency was sought by four persons, the presidency of the Ladies' Division by 3, and the third vice presidency of the division by 5 candidates.[57] It is interesting to note that the

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[55]Article III, Section 2, pp. 32 and 33. The omission of the third vice-president of the Ladies' Division may have been Montreal's manner of circumventing the constitution since it did not have 300+ financial members.

[56]The Constitution, Art. III, Sect. 12, p. 36.

[57]Montreal Division ballot sheet, Jan. 30, 1921, MF 5.

positions which were filled by acclamation, that of treasurer, executive secretary, and general secretary, demanded some degree of literacy and academic competence. They also called for more than recognition and prestige, involving actual work and responsibility. At the present time, with the membership as small as it is, the only officers are a president, vice president who is also the secretary, a lady president, and a treasurer. The nonagenerian, Mr. E.J. Tucker, has been given the honorary post of president emeritus.[58]

The vast majority of members seemed to have been born in the Caribbean area. While it is true that the membership books do not mention place of birth, interviews with veterans of the association clearly indicate that Canadian residents, particularly those from the region once called the British West Indies, formed the dominant element, numerically and as far as active participation was concerned. This impression is confirmed from the location of 45 completed application forms among the documents. In addition to information about personal and occupation matters, these forms did carry a space for place of birth. Supplementing these forms and the impression received from interviews, was the column for the next of kin which is in the membership books. When that question was answered, the address was invariably a location somewhere in the Caribbean.

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[58] Minutes of Special Meeting held on January 5, 1976, Special Minutes File 2.

The 45 completed application forms cover the period from January to June, 1920. Forty of the applicants listed the Caribbean as their place of birth: Jamaica with 12; Barbados, 11; St. Kitts/Nevis, 4; St. Lucia, 3; Trinidad and Tobago as well as British Guiana, 2 each; Antigua, Bahamas, Dominica, Guadeloupe, Montserrat, and St. Thomas, 1 each. With the exc-

Table IV. - Place of Birth of Applicants for Jan. to June, 1920, period.

Place of Birth	Numbers
Jamaica	12
Barbados	11
St. Kitts/Nevis	4
St. Lucia	3
Trinidad & Tobago	2
British Guiana	2
U.S.A. (continental)	2
Canada	2
Antigua	1
Bahamas	1
Dominica	1
Guadeloupe	1
Montserrat	1
St. Thomas (U.S. Virgin Island)	1
Not Given	1
TOTAL	45

Collated from 45 completed application forms.[59]

eption of Guadeloupe, which was part of the French Empire, and St. Thomas, one of the American Virgin Islands, these territories belonged to Britain. Of the remaining 5 applicants, two were born in continental U.S.A. (Virginia and Washington, D.C.),

[59] See MF 1 for the completed forms.

two were natives of Canada (Montreal and Stratford, Ontario), and one person did not specify his place of birth.

The findings from these forms coincide with conclusions reached by other related studies as far as place of birth of members is concerned. It does seem that the UNIA found its strongest support among people who were born in the Caribbean and who migrated to other parts of the world.[60] This must not be carried too far, for it must be remembered that some of the strongest divisions were to be found in the southern U.S.A. where the number of West Indian immigrants was not very great. As far as Canada is concerned, other investigators such as Dr. Daniel Hill, whose study of the Blacks in Toronto, included references to the UNIA, have concluded that people with a West Indian background did dominate the organization. Hill quoted a founding member of the Toronto Division to the effect that "the Canadian-born and American Negroes were against" the UNIA.[61] For his part, Israel described the Montreal Division as an organization of West Indians resident in the city.[62]

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[60] There were active branches in South Africa. In explaining this phenomenon, Tony Martin pointed out that the West Indian immigrants to that area were the backbone of those divisions. See Race First, pp. 118-120.

[61] Daniel Hill, Negroes in Toronto - A Sociological Study, 1960 Ph.D. thesis, U. of Toronto, p. 342. As a generalization, this statement is probably too strong.

[62] Israel, Op. Cit., p. 112.

The group of applicants consisted of 25 males and 20 females. Twenty one were single and 24 married. There were 3 married couples. The average age was 31.7 years, with an age range from 20 to 46 years. Four members were in their forties, while 19 were in their twenties. As the overwhelming majority were immigrants who had come to this country not so long before joining the association, this age distribution is not unexpected.

Table V. - Age Distribution by Sex.

range in years	Numbers Male	Female	Total
Not given	1	2	3
20-35	4	4	9
26-30	8	7	15
31-35	5	3	8
36-40	4	2	6
41-50	2	2	4
TOTAL	25	20	45

Collated from 45 completed application forms.[60]

An analysis of the occupations pursued by these applicants reveals somewhat surprising results. The majority did not follow the pattern which obtained at that time. Almost all black males who were gainfully employed worked as porters for the railroad companies. Of the 25 men, only eleven were employed by a railroad company: nine by the Canadian Pacific, one by

60 MF 1.

the Grand Trunk, and another by the Pullman Company. Of the 11, only one person described his occupation as that of a porter. Of the remaining ten, 3 worked as carpenters, 2 as blacksmiths, 2 as mechanics, 1 as an electrician in the CPR Angus Shops. One was an office clerk, while the other described himself as a musician.[61]

Those men who did not work for the railroad companies showed a similar variety of industrial and technical skills as their railroading counterparts. There were two carpenters, a welder, baker, shipper, blacksmith, electrician, brassmoulder, oiler, compositor, and shoemaker. One person worked as a labourer, while another classified himself as a helper. This job title, as well as the one designated as "operator", is so vague that its true meaning is obscured. These individuals worked for companies such as Robert Mitchell Co., the Steel Company of Canada, Davidson Foundries Works, Canada Paint and C.W. Lindsay Ltd.[62]

In attempting to explain this marked deviation from the almost standard occupational patterns associated with the black working male in Montreal during that period, the follow-

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[61] MF 1. I never was able to find out why the CPR hired a musician unless he was a member of a band which played in one of its hotels. I rather suspect that he was employed as a porter, but played music on a part-time basis as well.

[62] MF 1.

ing factors must be taken into consideration.

These UNIA members, who were recent arrivals in the city, came from the Caribbean area where there were no sleeping, parlour or other railroad cars of that nature. As a result, they were unfamiliar with jobs associated with such vehicles and, therefore, were not likely to pursue them with great enthusiasm. They were more likely to be interested in the type of work which was consistent with their training, skills, and experience. They were not convinced, so soon after their arrival in Montreal, that they should seek and accept jobs which were, in fact, specifically set aside for people of their racial background. It would take many disappointments and setbacks in order for them to understand the type of job classification based on ethnic factors which obtained in Montreal, at least as far as people of African descent and other visible minorities were concerned.[63]

Added to the above was the fact that it was much easier for a person of African extraction to acquire industrial and techinical skills in the Caribbean area than for his counterpart who was born in Canada. In the West Indies, black people

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[63] Interviews with innumerable Blacks, who have been living in Montreal for long periods, invariably support this position. Stories of black West Indian immigrants, seeking jobs in their field only to be disappointed and, therefore, turning to the railroads in desperation, are numerous. Two friends and I, who came to study at universities in this city, have had this experience during our search for our first summer job.

represent the most numerous racial group. People of European extraction form a miniscule minority who, for historical and other reasons, concentrated on commerce and business which provided ample opportunites for the accumulation of wealth. The labour force, therefore, whether skilled or unskilled, came almost exclusively from the black majority. Such people, accordingly, acquired skills, techniques, and expertise, as well as the more self-confident attitude associated with workers who were in demand rather than in constant search of employment.

In Canada, with a labour force made up almost exclusively of people of European extraction who form the overwhelming majority of the population, such jobs are done by Whites. The native person of African descent had little choice, at that time, but to gravitate to the service-type occupations such as were available on the railroads. The white person, for the most part, shunned these jobs especially as the pay was most unattractive and the status equally as low.[64]

It should not be difficult to see how this pattern, if carried on for a long time, could result in demoralizing its victims to the point where they accept, on the surface at least, their clearly demarcated assigned roles and ascribed status. It

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[64]As late as May, 1955, I was told by an R.C. priest in Halifax, N.S., that the only jobs available to black males in that city were railroad portering and labouring work on the docks.

must also be pointed out that the railroad companies, in the late 19th century, had recruited black Americans to work on their sleeping, dining and other cars of that nature as porters. The Afro-American was the person with the most experience in this type of work and, as a result, was most eagerly sought.[65]

Of the 20 females whose application forms have been studied, six worked in their homes as full-time mothers and housewives. Of the remaining 14, five followed the traditional pattern by working as maids, domestics, and laundrywomen. Two were unemployed, and the remaining 7 earned their livelihood by working in the garment industry as milliners, dressmakers, and needleworkers. The last-mentioned group is easy to explain. On leaving elementary school, a young girl in the Caribbean of those days became apprenticed to an experienced dressmaker in order "to learn how to sew." This was particularly true in the case of the female adolescent of African descent for whom there were very few job opportunities. As a result, they usually became quite proficient with the needle and scissors.[66]

The fact that only 25% were engaged in domestic work is noteworthy. A study conducted by a Montreal sociologist on the occupations of Blacks in the city between 1941 and 1948 noted that "80 per cent of the female wage earners " worked as

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[65] Israel, Op. Cit., pp. 69-70.

[66] The importance of this apprentice system, informal as it was, was enhanced by the fact that less than 1% of students went on to secondary school at that time.

domestic servants.[67] There is every reason to believe that Potter's findings applied equally to the 1920's, if not to a greater extent. This was brought out in discussions with senior members of the black community on the subject of job placement, as well as from reading letters and other documents. This

Table VI. - Job Classification of Males and Females.

Occupations	Numbers of Males	Females
BLUE COLLAR -Industrial skills: carpentry etc.	15	-
-Craft: baker, milliner etc.	3	7
WHITE COLLAR	2	-
SERVICE INDUSTRY -Domestics, railroad porter etc.	1	5
HOUSEWIFE	-	6
UNSKILLED -Labourer, helper.	2	-
MISCELLANEOUS -Musician, operator	2	-
UNEMPLOYED	-	2
TOTAL	25	20

Collated from 45 completed application forms.[68]

sample, therefore, as was the case with the males, is atypical in so far as female occupation is concerned.

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[67] Harold H. Potter, The Occupational Adjustments of Montreal Negroes, 1941-1948, M.A. Thesis, Mc Gill University, 1949, p. 29.

[68] MF 1.

The overwhelming majority of the general membership of the Montreal Division came from the working class. This was to be expected because almost all the people of African descent in the city belonged to that socio-economic group. This finding coincides with the statements issued about the membership of the organization as a whole.[69]

With respect to the educated members of the black community, unlike what has been said about the UNIA in general, the Montreal Division attracted more than its share of educated persons. Not only did such individuals seek membership in it, but they often assumed leadership roles, especially in the heyday of the association. In trying to understand the reason for this, it must be noted that the social climate of the city was such that there were very few, if any, opportunites for a black person to belong to an organization with a predominantly white membership. Also important in this regard is the fact that the small size of the black population and the external pressure exerted against it tended to forestall the development of rigid social classification among the Blacks themselves.[70]

The records show that six medical doctors were active members of the division between 1919 and 1925. They were Drs.

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[69] See critics' letter in Phil. and Opin. Vol. 2, pp. 294-300.

[70] "Educated" is used to mean persons with a university background.

D.D. Lewis, D. Gaspard, Samuel Wills, K.I. Melville, and J.R. Williams.[71]

Dr. D.D. Lewis, a native of Nigeria, joined the division in January, 1920, and was elected president in May of that year.[72] He was the third person to occupy the presidency, the first being the energetic Henry C. Hall, that successful recruiter of members mentioned above, and the second being Fred C. Bonn. According to one Garvey scholar, Dr. Lewis studied medicine in Montreal where he practised after his graduation and where he established a "sanatarium."[73] He later moved to New York City, associating himself with the division there and becoming one of the persons who tried to "rehabilitate" the organization from the morass in which it found itself after the death of Marcus Garvey.[74] It will be seen later that Dr. Lewis played an important role in the First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. During his term of office, Dr. Lewis was assisted by Dr. D. Gaspard, a highly respected Montreal physician and army veteran after whom a branch of the Canadian Legion is named.[75] Dr. Gaspard joined the divsion in January,

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[71] Membership Books 1 and 2, ACHA Archives.

[72] Membership Book 1, p. 185.

[73] T. Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 111.

[74] See Chapter 7.

[75] Interview with Roy States, army veteran and official of the Canadian Legion.

1920.[76]

Dr. K.I. Melville, a native of Jamaica, came to Montreal to further his studies. He had a distinguished record as a medical student at Mc Gill University where he later became a professor. He went on to become the Chairman of the Department of Pharmacology and a renowned expert in his specialty. Dr. Melville joined the division in July, 1920, serving it in several capacities during his association with it.[77]

Dr. Samuel I. T. Wills also had an interesting career. He was born in the former British South American colony known as British Guiana, where he completed his primary and secondary education. He then studied pharmacy and became a licensed druggist in his native land. To continue his medical education, he went to the U.S.A. and entered Meharry Medical School, the well-known institution in Nashville, Tennessee, which has been educating black doctors since 1876.[78] After graduating from Meharry, Dr. Wills went to Scotland where he pursued postgraduate studies in his chosen field. He eventually came to Montreal where, in August of 1923, he joined the UNIA.[79]

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[76] Membership Book 1, p. 121.

[77] The Montreal Daily Star, October 21, 1948.

[78] Herbert M. Morais, The History of the Negro in Medicine, pp. 44-48. Meharry was founded solely for the education of black doctors.

[79] Interviews with Mr. Tucker, Mrs. A. Packwood, Mrs. D. Wills, daughter-in-law of Dr. Wills, and Samuel Wills, Jr.

He served the organization in many capacities including that of auditor and advisor to the Black Cross Nurses Society.[80] He is best remembered, however, for the free clinic which he established on the Iroquois (Mohawk) Reservation of Caughaganawa located a few miles to the southwest of Montreal across the St. Lawrence River. Dr. Wills also has the distinction of being the first and, probably, only member of the Montreal Division ever to "return" to Africa. He chose Nigeria where two of his children were born.[81] One of his sons, Roland, is at present an Associate Professor of Commerce at Concordia University, Montreal, as well as assistant dean of the faculty. The other, Samuel, Jr., lives in Cincinnati, Ohio, and is associated with the UNIA Division of that city.

Dr. J. Horsham was also a native of British Guyana and a very close friend of Dr. Wills. He, too, had studied pharmacy in his native land, and had followed this up by becoming a medical doctor. He also came to Montreal where he practised for a while before leaving to take up residence in the U.S.A.[82] He was one of the early members of the division, having joined it in 1919.[83]

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[80] See Chapter 5.

[81] Interviews with Tucker and S. Wills, Jr.

[82] It is not known where he studied medicine, although Meharry Medical School seems to be the likely institution.

[83] Membership Book 1, p. 149.

Not a great deal has been unearthed on Dr. J.R. Williams. He became a member of the division on January 4, 1920, and remained active until June of that year. The records show that he rejoined the UNIA on February 7, 1926.[84] It is not known whether he had left the city during the period when his membership had lapsed, or whether he had merely stopped being an active member.

Other members with a college-level education included Rev. C.A. Stewart of Halifax, N.S., who joined the organization on September 19, 1920;[85] Rev. Charles H. Este, who served as chaplain for many years, and who carried out other functions for the division;[86] B.J. Spencer Pitt, who moved to Toronto where he practised law; G. Alberga, a native of Montego Bay, Jamaica, who described himself as an engineer;[87] and Rosalin Thompson who was a teacher.[88]

Other people, whose educational achievement was higher than the secondary level, were found scattered among the mem-

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[84] Membership Book 1, p. 354.

[85] Ibid., p. 416.

[86] References to Rev. Este are to be found scattered throughout the documents. See Leo W. Bertley, Montreal's Oldest Black Congregation, Pierrefonds, Bilongo Publishers, 1976, pp. 6-8 for a brief account of Rev. Este's work in Union Church.

[87] Membership Book 1, p. 465.

[88] Ibid., p. 344. I was unable to find out which school board Ms. Thompson worked for. I suspect that she may have had a small private school.

bership. Earle Swift, who joined the division on August 15, 1920,[89] Eustace Reid, who became a member in March, 1920,[90] and W.H. Thwaites, who joined on May 16, 1920,[91] are examples. They all attended college and made some contribution to the life of the organization. Reid was the Assistant Secretary General in 1920, while Swift, inter alia, taught in the UNIA school during the 1930's.[92] In 1923, he served as auditor.[93] Mention must also be made of Dudley Sykes, an American-born social worker who was one of the founders of the Negro Community Centre.[94] Sykes went on to become the Executive Secretary of the centre, replacing another founder, Mr. Golden Darby, on April 1, 1931.[95] Sykes became a member of the UNIA in 1926.[96]

It can be seen, therefore, that the Montreal Division attracted people from the various social and educational groups

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[89] Membership Book 1, p. 307.

[90] Ibid., p. 264.

[91] Ibid., p. 324.

[92] See Chapter 5 for details.

[93] Auditor's File, ACHA Archives. See, also, MF 5.

[94] The Negro Community Center in Action, Montreal, 1976, p. 2, ACHA Archives.

[95] The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Vol. II, No. 6, June 1935, p. 12h.

[96] Membership Book 1, p. 281. It seems as if Mr. Darby did not identify with the UNIA, nor did Mr. Sykes' successor, Mr. Stanley Clyke, a native of Nova Scotia.

which existed in the city at that time. Notable exceptions were generally to be found in the group described as the "four hundreds" of the black community. These people of African descent avoided the organization because they considerd its general membership to be inferior to them socially, if not economically as well.[97] This is rather interesting since the majority of the "four hundreds", who were gainfully employed, showed the same employment patterns as the other Blacks in the city. Although many of this group were to be found in the Coloured Women's Club, that institution had members such as the De Shield sisters who were ardent Garveyites.[98]

Finally, in order to determine if there was an area in the city where the membership generally lived, i.e. a black ghetto, the addresses of 392 people, whose names appeared in the membership records from 1920 to 1930, were carefully studied. With very few exceptions, they lived in the western part of Montreal which has been called "The City below the Hill".[99] This sector of Montreal was located roughly between Inspector Street and the Lachine Canal to the south, Dorchester Boule-

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[97] Interviews with Messers Tucker, Ashby, and Marshalleck.

[98] The present-day Mrs. A. Packwood was born De Shield. They were related to Mr. W. Trott, a former president of the UNIA and a staunch Garveyite. The family came from Bermuda.

[99] See book of the same title written by Montreal businessman and city councillor, Herbert Brown Ames, in 1897. It describes the conditions which existed in this working-class sector of Montreal.

vard to the north, the CPR tracks and Atwater Avenue to the west, and Peel-Windsor Street to the east.[100]

Of the 392 addresses studied, 253 were on Richmond Square, Lusignan, Aqueduct, St. Antoine, Atwater, St. James, Seigneur, Notre Dame, Guy, Delisle, and Coursol Streets. With few exceptions, the remaining addresses were on other streets in the locality such as Dominion, Canning, and St. Martin. The few exceptions were addresses scattered in areas such as Notre Dame de Grace, Verdun, Ville Emard, and Park Extension.[101] One person gave Outremont, with its middle and upper class status, as her address.[102]

The findings of this study of the addresses of the membership are supported by the reports of the 1921 and 1931 censuses. Although considered inaccurate as far as counting the number of Blacks is concerned, these censuses place the overwhelming majority in the wards of St. Antoine and St. Anne.[103] The streets mentioned above are located in these city wards.

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[100] See map provided in the appendix. Note that the contemporary names are used. Most streets retain their original names, but a few were changed.

[101] This information and the figures are collated from Membership Book 1. Note that the "four hundreds" also lived, for the most part, in "The City below the Hill".

[102] It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this lady probably was a full-time maid whose employers provided her with living quarters.

[103] Sixth Census, 1921, p. 356 and Seventh Census, 1931, p. 234.

Most of the city's residents of African extraction continued to live in this general area until about the middle of the 1950's. After that date, many families moved out to dwellings located north of Mount Royal, as well as to other suburban communities which were being built up a few miles outside the city's limits.[104] Today, there are still Blacks living in those wards. For the most part they tend to be families living on low and fixed incomes, including old-age pensioners. The Negro Community Centre, Union Church which is Montreal's oldest black congregation, the Bibleway Pentecostal Church, a black organization about twelve years old, and, as mentioned earlier, the UNIA property, are all located in that neighbourhood.[105]

It should be observed that a person who is accustomed to the types of black ghettos that exist in the U.S.A. would be disappointed in the black community living in "The City below the Hill". There was never anything to compare with a Harlem or a Watts. People of European descent were always in the majority in the case of this Montreal area. It could more accurately be described as a working class district rather than a black ghetto.

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[104] This was a result of the breakdown of some of the prejudice against Blacks as well as the realization, on the part of Blacks, that they could move to these areas without too much trouble.

[105] Suburban Blacks still attend these institutions.

In concluding this chapter on membership, it can be said that the Montreal Division reflected the more important characteristics which have been reported on studies of the UNIA in general. Other researchers have commented upon the difficulty which they experienced when they tried to pin down the exact number of people actively involved in the organization. The same is true with this study, as it was very difficult to come up with the precise number of people who made up the Montreal Division at any one time. The available documents suggest that the membership was smaller than the claims made by officials but, once again, perhaps different definitions of membership were employed. It must be pointed out, at the same time, that the veteran members interviewed were all convinced that the documents did not tell the full story as far as total membership was concerned.

As in the case of other UNIA studies, this one has shown that a large percentage of the membership and leadership had West Indian roots. In addition, members tended to be from the working class, but so were almost all the Blacks in Montreal at that time. There were college-educated members as well, and these included individuals from the medical and other professions requiring advanced college preparation. Not only were such people members of the organization, but they also assumed leadership roles. It would seem, therefore, that, at least in Montreal, the more educated Blacks did not shun the UNIA.

CHAPTER IV

PHILOSOPHY

There is little doubt that the "beliefs, concepts, and attitudes"[1] of the UNIA were largely responsible for the appeal which it had for members of the Montreal Division as well as for other supporters throughout the world. Its philosophical message clearly enunciated and articulated the ideas, concepts, and beliefs which these individuals had held for a very long time, but which many were unable to express with such clarity and certainty as the major leaders of the organization did.

Marcus Garvey was easily the most successful leader of the UNIA to convey to its membership the most important parts of the philosophy of the organization. Through his writings and speeches, he announced, developed and propagated the main elements of this philosophy which can be put into four major categories: (1)pride and love of race, (2)a universal confraternity of black people, (3)the concept of Africa as the Motherland of Blacks regardless of their place of residence at any given time, and (4)self-reliance, especially in the economic sense. These principles are interrelated and, as a consequence, are sometimes difficult to separate one from the other. In add-

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[1]Taken from the fourth definition of philosophy given in Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary. In this chapter, philosophy is used in this sense.

ition, side issues and correlative ideas do sometimes arise from them.

This chapter will begin with (1) and end with (4), as designated above. Each section will start with a discussion of these principles as they relate to the UNIA in general, and will conclude with an examination of the position taken by the Montreal Division. Examples will be used to demonstrate the extent to which the Montreal Division tried to implement these principles.

Perhaps the most important and fundamental concept which the UNIA wished to inculcate in the minds of black people everywhere was pride and love of race. This was singularly lacking in most Blacks at the time when Garvey launched his crusade "to reclaim the fallen of the race."[2] Recapturing this lost pride and love was seen by Garvey to be a sine qua non if the UNIA were to have any chance of achieving its goals and objectives.

In order to achieve this, it was necessary, first of all, to bring black people to an awareness of themselves: who they were, their true origins, and what their destiny was likely to be. Pride and love of race, that is to say, could result only from a proper knowledge of race. This, in turn, depended on a careful study of what has since been popularly known as

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[2]UNIA Manifesto, Aug. 1, 1914, in Cronon, Op. Cit., p. 24. Note that Garvey's use of race was based on skin colour.

Black History.

Garvey took the lead in letting his followers and Blacks in general know what he considered to be the correct history of people of African descent. To him, such individuals had every reason to be proud of their heritage, if only they knew the truth concerning their historical roots. The following quotation, one of many, serves to illustrate this point:

> ... when we come to consider the history of man, was not the Negro a power, was he not great once? Yes, honest students of history can recall the day when Egypt, Ethiopia and Timbuctoo towered in their civilizations, towered above Europe, towered above Asia. When Europe was inhabited by a race of cannibals, a race of savages, naked men, heathens and pagans, Africa was peopled by a race of cultured black men, who were masters in art, science and literature; men who were cultured and refined; men who, it was said, were like the gods. Even the great poets of old sang in beautiful sonnets the delight it afforded the gods to be in companionship with the Ethiopians. Why, then, should we lose hope?[3]

This was one of the major points which the UNIA was trying to drive home to people of African descent. They must not allow negative teachings about their historical background and their current weak economic and social status to cause them to despair. As Garvey went on to explain, "Black men, you once were great; you shall be great again. Lose not faith, go forward."[4]

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[3] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin. Vol. 1, p. 77.

[4] Ibid.

Black people were urged to teach their children that they were the "direct descendants of the greatest and proudest race who ever peopled the earth."[5] Furthermore, the young were to be convinced that the oppression of their race in this "jealous and prejudiced world" was a function of the inability of the oppressors to cope with the resurgence of "a civilization of our own, that may outshine others."[6] Garvey also stressed that people of African descent must not be reluctant to "take credit for the glorious and wonderful achievements of [their] fathers in Africa, Europe and Asia."[7]

In presenting this interpretation of Black History, Garvey and the UNIA adopted a position which was the direct opposite of the views held in popular as well as in certain academic circles. The prevalent views of the time advanced the argument that there was no civilization south of the Sahara desert. This position was later summarized by Sir Reginald Coupland, Beit Professor of Modern History, Oxford University. Describing what he considered to be the condition of the African in his ancestral homeland before the arrival of the European, Coupland wrote that "the great mass of ... Africans ... stayed

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[5] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, p. 82.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. Note that Garvey is asserting the presence of Blacks in historical Europe and Asia. While revolutionary at that time, such ideas have received some support from researchers who have done work on the migrations of African peoples.

sunk in primitive barbarism, the most backward of all the major races of man."[8]

It was to counteract this type of doctrine that Garvey directly addressed himself when he observed that history was "written with prejudices, likes and dislikes."[9] In commenting on what he considered to be the approach of white historians to the historical role played by Blacks, Garvey declared:

> To read the histories of the world, peoples, and races, written by white men, would make the Negro feel and believe that he never amounted to anything in the creation. ... and there has never been a white historian who ever wrote with any true love or feeling for the Negro. ... White historians and writers have tried to rob the black man of his proud past in history, and when anything new is discovered to support the race's claim and attest the truthfulness of our greatness in other ages, then it is skillfully rearranged and credited to some other unknown race or people.[10]

This overstatement of his case could have been the result of several factors, including an overzealousness on his part. It is also possible that he was unaware of the works of those white authors, admittedly few in number, who, at that time, did not fit the description given above. As their works did not receive wide circulation, it was possible for them to

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[8]Sir Reginald Coupland, The British Anti-Slavery Movement, London, Frank Cass, 1964, p. 11. It was first published in 1933.

[9]A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, p. 82.

[10]Ibid.

go largely unnoticed. Perhaps Garvey ignored the contributions made by white social scientists to the promulgation of Black History because he felt that this was necessary for his argument to have the most telling impact.[11]

Liberty Hall, whether located on Guy Street, Chatham Street, or Georges Vanier Boulevard, was the centre for instilling the spirit of race pride and love by means of this brand of Black History. All the veteran members of the association who were interviewed agreed that such teachings had the effect of transforming them into new beings. One person remarked that an individual may enter the hall like a worm crawling on his abdomen. Such a person emerged from the hall walking erect on two legs like a man.[12] Another reported that he would walk out onto the street, after hearing such inspirational history, with the certain knowledge that no white person was better than a Negro.[13] In those days, that was revolutionary thinking.

Such history lessons were often taken from the pages of the Negro World which carried articles dealing with the subject. This publication also printed the many speeches of the President General, as well as his regular "Message" to the general membership. They frequently contained references to

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[11]Scholars such as L. Weiner and F. Lugard come to mind.

[12]Mrs. Anne Packwood, nee De Shield.

[13]Interviews with Tucker, the Coopers, and H.J. Langdon.

pride and love of the African race. Appropriate sections of this newspaper and other printed matter emanating from the Parent Body were faithfully read and, where necessary, elaborated upon during the regular and Sunday mass meetings of the division.[14]

The association also made use of guest lecturers who could further enlighten its members in this area. Students from Africa, the Caribbean, and other parts of the black world, who attended educational institutions in the city, were often invited to speak at Liberty Hall. Officials from the same territories, as well as visitors to Montreal, were also asked to share their knowledge with the membership. Apart from Garvey himself, perhaps the most famous personality to grace the speaker's platform of Liberty Hall was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. This pan-Africanist leader visited this city and country during his first year as Prime Minister of Ghana.[15]

In addition to the spoken word as a vehicle for inculcating pride in the African heritage and of promoting love and respect for the contemporary members of the African race, the Montreal Division made good use of visual aids as well. Liberty Hall, particularly on special occasions, was decorated with

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[14]Interviews with Tucker, the Coopers, and H. Langdon.

[15]The Montreal Star, July 18, 1958. Because of his pan-Africanist position, Dr. Nkrumah was particularly popular with black nationalists. As the leader of the first modern black nation to emerge from colonialism, he was revered.

flags, banners, streamers and other such visual material, all of which bore the official colours of the UNIA, viz. red, black, and green.[16] Lapel pins, rings, brooches and other memorabilia, all painted in the official colours, were on sale. Not only did they raise funds for the division, but they also imparted, albeit in an indirect and incidental fashion, the lessons of race pride and love for the black heritage.[17]

Liberty Hall was a veritable "Hall of Heroes or of Fame."[18] Its walls were turned into display boards on which hung suitably-framed photographs of prominent people of African descent, local and international, historical and contemporary. Placed in the most [redacted]inent location, on the wall behind the speaker's rostrum a few feet above the presidential chair, was the autographed portrait of Marcus Garvey. This photograph carried the inscription, "President General and First Provisional President of Africa."[19] No-one who entered the hall could fail to see this portrait.

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[16]The Constitution, Article III, Section 37, p. 42.

[17]Some of the ladies made dresses for themselves and clothes for their husbands and children from cloth coloured red, black, and green. Interview notes.

[18]MB 2, p. 71.

[19]This seems to have been the official portrait of Marcus Garvey. There were other formal photographs of the President General in different outfits such as military uniforms and academic robes. This photograph is in the ACHA.

Black historical figures, who had assumed almost god-like proportions in the minds of black nationalists, were also represented in this Hall of Heroes. Examples included Menelik II of Ethiopia, Cetewayo, the celebrated King of the Zulus, and Toussaint L'Ouverture, the revolutionary slave of Santo Domingo. Known as "King of Kings, Ever Victorious Lion of Judah", Menelik II, among his other achievements, preserved the independence of his nation by defeating the invading army of King Humbert at the famous Battle of Adowa which was fought on March 1, 1896.[20]

Cetewayo led his Zulu people in resisting British attempts to annex his country. Before he was finally captured in 1879, he had defeated British troops in various engagements. In one such battle, his forces killed Prince Louis Napoleon, the only child of the deposed French Emperor, Napoleon III, and his wife, the Empress Eugénie.[21] The Prince Imperial, or Napoleon IV, as he was sometimes called, had left his comfortable exile in England and had volunteered to fight in the British forces.[22] His untimely death had the effect of "extinguishing

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[20] J.A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Colour, Vol. 1, New York, Futuro Press, 1947, p. 234-p. 242.

[21] C.J.H. Hayes and C.W. Cole, History of Europe Since 1500, New York, Macmillan, 1958, pp. 397, 415, and 517.

[22] Carter G. Woodson, African Heroes and Heroines, Washington, D.C., Associated Publishers, 1944, pp. 148-152. Hayes and Cole, Op. Cit., p. 369.

the hopes of the Napoleonic Party in France."[23] As visitors to Liberty Hall gazed at the portrait of this King of the Zulus, they were sometimes urged not to forget what Disraeli, Prime Minister of England during the wars with Cetewayo, is reported to have said: "A very remarkable people, the Zulus, they defeat our generals; they convert our bishops; they have settled the fate of a great European dynasty."[24]

Finally, Toussaint L'Ouverture represented, in the minds of UNIA members, the indomitable spirit of the black race which not even chattel slavery could destroy. He led his fellow slaves of Santo Domingo in rebellion against the slaveholders, and achieved independence for his people. In the process, his forces, assisted by tropical diseases, "practically destroyed the British Army" which had entered the struggle in an attempt to stop the march of these black people towards freedom.[25] The new nation of Haiti, which resulted from this epic struggle and which was officially proclaimed in 1805, became the second independent state in the Western Hemisphere. Visitors to Liberty Hall were frequently reminded that Wendell

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[23] Rogers, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 170.

[24] Hayes and Cole, Op. Cit., p. 369. Woodson, Op. Cit., p. 152.

[25] C.L.R. James in his Black Jacobins, New York, Vintage Books, 1963, quoted Sir John Fortesque, official historian of the British Army, to that effect. See p. 146. Black Jacobins is still the best history of Toussaint and his revolution.

Phillips, the great American orator and abolitionist, in one of his memorable speeches, ranked Toussaint L'Ouverture above George Washington as a truly great historical figure.[26]

To these international and historical personalities were added contemporary leaders of the black Montreal community as well as those who lived in the U.S.A. Charters, commissions, certificates, and other documents of like nature, belonging to black organizations such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, its Ladies Auxiliary, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, and the Household of Ruth, were also on display. The fact that these organizations made use of the facilities of Liberty Hall carried the valuable lesson of the importance of cooperation among Blacks. It was hoped, as well, that the benevolent and fraternal aspects of these organizations would be an example and inspiration to other Blacks in the city.[27]

The inclusion of Asa Philip Randolph among the portraits on display in Liberty Hall furnished a good example of local consideration prevailing over general UNIA circumstances. Randolph, the well-known black American trade unionist and civil rights activist, had flirted with communism and had supported

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[26]Rogers, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 473. See, also, UNIA, Universal Negro Catechism, p. 15.

[27]Interviews with Mr. Tucker, the Coopers, Marshalleck, and H.J. Langdon.

the radical Industrial Workers of the World while he was a young man. He had also been a member of the Socialist Party of America.[28] With such a philosophical and ideological orientation, Randolph inevitably clashed with Garvey and the UNIA. Randolph advocated an integrationist philosophy which called upon all workers, regardless of race, to unite. Garvey, on the other hand, advanced an ideology firmly rooted in the primacy of race. In addition, he was adamantly opposed to socialism and communism, at least "the present brand ... as taught in America."[29] He was also highly suspicious of trade unions, at least the ones dominated by Whites, and he warned his followers to beware of their "traps and pitfalls."[30] With Garvey and Randolph competing for essentially the same clientele, and with such diametrically-opposed views, the clash between them became rather bitter.

So strong was Garvey's antipathy towards socialism, communism, and even trade unionism as was practised in America, that he resorted to what can be described as scare tactics in his attempt to dissuade his followers from becoming involved with them. To him, all Whites, regardless of socio-economic

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[28] Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, New York, William Morrow and Co., 1967, p. 40.

[29] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin. Vol II, p. 69.

[30] Ibid.

background or political persuasion, saw themselves as Whites, first of all, and as socialists or any other ideologues afterwards. In that connection he stated that "99½ per cent" of the lynch mobs and groups of that nature were members of the same communist and "Worker's party."[31] Since no study on the membership of these groups with respect to affiliation with political parties was available at the time Garvey made his remark, this statement can only be seen in terms of his attempt to scare his followers and potential disciples away from socialists and communists. It must not be forgotten that lynch mobs did strike fear in the minds of many Blacks during that period.

Such teachings in themselves were anathema to Randolph. That they were helping to increase the membership of the UNIA, while his own organizations were struggling, made them even more unacceptable. It is little wonder, therefore, that he regarded Garvey and the UNIA as the most dangerous enemies that black people in America ever faced. He, accordingly, argued for the extirpation of both from the American scene. Through the pages of the Messenger, the radical magazine which he, together with Chandler Owen, had founded in 1917, he launched a relentless campaign to drive both from the U.S.A. with the theme, "Marcus Garvey Must Go."[32]

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[31] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 70.

[32] The Messenger, August, 1922.

Randolph employed a wide variety of means to discredit Garvey and his movement. He resorted to insults, calling his opponent "a clown and imperial buffon ... a monumental monkey ... an unquestioned fool and ignoramus"[33] and "a little half-wit Lilliputian."[34] He was not above appealing to that form of perverted nationalism sometimes referred to as "nativism" by referring to Garvey as "the supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass."[35] In fact, his campaign to have Garvey deported from the U.S.A. was based on the argument that Garvey was not an American by birth and, therefore, did not have the right to cause, what Randolph considered to be, so much trouble for the American-born, whether black or white.

The leading figures and other members of black Montreal were aware of Randolph's attacks and accusations. The Negro World, which they received regularly from its headquarters in New York, contained articles and editorials on the subject, as well as Garvey's replies which, in form and content, matched the taunts of his detractors. The ferocity of Garvey's responses was sufficient evidence to indicate the seriousness with which the UNIA had viewed the dangers which Randolph represented to its well-being. And yet his portrait was placed in its Hall of Heroes!

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[33] The Messenger, August, 1923.

[34] The Chicago Defender, August 12, 1922.

[35] The Messenger, August, 1923.

The reason for this apparent contradiction was sought from people interviewed during the course of this study. Those who offered an explanation pointed out that Randolph was a fighter for the race and an organizer of black workers who were struggling against their exploiters. In this way, he was carrying on an important aspect of the UNIA programme, although his methods and ideological basis were quite different from those of the UNIA.[36] This was correct because Randolph had formed two black labour groups: the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism among Negroes, in the early 1920's, and the even more important and successful Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in 1925.[37]

To Montreal Blacks, who were struggling to organize themselves in their work as lowly-paid porters with severely limited rights and who were exploited in the homes of the city, Randolph's message and attitude towards the organization of black workers had more appeal than that of the UNIA and Garvey. They found it difficult to believe, as Garvey had argued, that "the white capitalist," and not the white worker, was the "only convenient friend the Negro worker or laborer" had in America.[38]

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[36] Interviews with Messers Blanchette, Tucker, Ashby, and Swift.

[37] John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, New York, Vintage Books, 1969, p. 368.

[38] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 69.

They had been working with white labourers, male and female, and their experiences, though not ideal, had told them differently. As for the white capitalist, the struggle with the CPR convinced them that he was certainly not a "friend", convenient or otherwise. It was also true that, by the time the division had placed Randolph's photograph on the wall of Liberty Hall, the clash between himself and the UNIA was over. Only a few older members recalled or cared about the previous animosity.[39]

In its attempt to instill pride and love of race, the Montreal Division achieved commendable success. This was borne out in conversations with many people who either belonged to the juvenile branch, or were adult members during the glory days of the association. One is left with the unmistakable impression that they were proud of their race and African heritage. These characteristics have remained with them through the years.

Mr. Henry J. Langdon, the current president of the division, expressed the feelings of the majority of those persons who spoke about the effect of UNIA teaching on their pride in the black race. His father, who served the organization in several capacities including the posts of treasurer and president, took him to his first UNIA meeting on April 8, 1924, the very first day that he arrived in Montreal from his native Trinidad.

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[39] Interviews with Messers Blanchette, Tucker, Ashby, and Swift.

He was in his early teens and quite an impressionable youth. From that moment on he had become a regular participant in the many activities of the UNIA. He clearly stated that the education he received in Liberty Hall left him with the belief that there was a black person behind most of the great achievements of the human race. His mother had reinforced this view of the contributions made by people of African descent to world civilization.[40]

In order to understand how a person can arrive at such a conclusion, one has to take into consideration the nature and intensity of the education dispensed in Liberty Hall. People were told repeatedly, in an atmosphere created to induce unquestioning belief, that Blacks had given "civilization, ... science, ... literature to the world", and that they had "once occupied a high position in the world, scientifically, artistically and commercially."[41] As this is clearly a claim which is, to say the least, highly debatable, the fact that many people were prepared to accept it with little or no modification, was a function of the degree to which they had felt the need to develop a feeling of self-esteem and self-worth. Being a master communicator, Garvey made use of the method and material best calculated to achieve the desired results. If it were necessary for him to overstate the case to get his message across, he did

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[40] Interviews with Mr. H.J. Langdon.

[41] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. I, p. 80.

not hesitate to do so. The reader would undoubtedly recall that Garvey had also observed that many of the achievements and contributions of black people were credited to individuals of other races.[42]

The development of a positive self-image by black Montrealers was of unquestionably great importance during the period when the UNIA was most active in the city. This stemmed from the fact that many of the important forces in society, especially those which had significant influence in the educational process, seemed geared to produce the opposite effect, i.e. the destruction of any feeling of self-worth or dignity on the part of people of African descent. Whether it was the public school system, with many a textbook and teacher paying little or no attention to the sensitivity of black students,[43] the labour market where only the most menial and lowest-paying jobs were given to the overwhelming majority of Blacks, or the social and amusement centres which discriminated against people of African descent,[44] to take only a few examples, everything

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[42] See page 136.

[43] Books depicting Blacks only in demeaning, subordinate, and menial roles were on the reading lists and in the libraries of many schools. Parents such as Levi and Susan Lord have told the author that teachers used to tell their children who attended Westmount High School not to be concerned about academic work since they would become porters and maids like their parents.

[44] The Loews Cinema and His Majesty's Theatre, for example. See the Montreal Gazette, March 5, 1919 re the former. Re the latter, interviews with Tucker, Rev. Este, the Coopers.

seemed calculated to make Blacks develop a feeling of inferiority and worthlessness.[45]

It is little wonder, therefore, that Liberty Hall was packed on Sundays, for it was the only place in Montreal where Blacks could hear in clear, unmistakable, unequivocal and uncompromising voice, "Up, you mighty race, you once were great and will be great again."[46] It was only there that adults and children alike could learn, by the question and answer method, that they belonged to the greatest race that ever lived on this earth. Of the many examples that can be used, the one dealing with Memphis will be cited. After establishing that Memphis was a black African city, the Universal Negro Cathechism continues:

> Q. Describe Memphis as it was 4000 years ago.
> A. It was the seat of the highest culture of the world. Its avenue of sphynxes compelled the admiration of the world: its magnificent temple was thronged with pilgrims from over the world. In its university, Moses, the leader and lawgiver of Israel, received theological and scientific instruction. Greece sent her Homer, Thales and Solon to Memphis to receive the finishing touch, and Plato himself spent thirteen years there getting inspiration.[47]

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[45] The Lord family probably did not develop this sense of worthlessness. The youngest, Gwen, is now principal of one of the larger secondary schools in the city. Richard graduated as an engineer from the University of Michigan and has played important roles in municipal, provincial, and federal affairs.

[46] The Negro World, July 16, 1921.

[47] P. 15.

Small wonder, therefore, that people like Henry Langdon, after attending such meetings, felt like Dr. Martin Delany, the 19th century black American nationalist,[48] who thanked God everyday for making him a black man.[49]

The second tenet of UNIA philosophy is a natural outgrowth of the first. It called for people of African descent to form "one grand racial hierarchy" which "must know no clime, boundary or nationality."[50] Religion, politics, and place of birth must not be allowed to divide Blacks. Speaking for himself on this point, Garvey said, on more than one occasion, that he knew "no national boundary where the Negro [was] concerned."[51] He developed this concept in the following manner:

> Everybody knows that there is absolutely no difference between the native African and the American and West Indian Negroes, in that we are descendants from one common family stock. It is only a matter of accident that we have been divided and kept apart for over three hundred years, but it is felt that when the time has come for us to get back together, we shall do so in the spirit of brotherly love.[52]

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[48] For Dr. Delany's association with Chatham, Canada West (Ontario), where he lived for some time, See Leo W. Bertley, Canada and Its People ..., p. 69.

[49] Interviews with Langdon.

[50] "African Fundamentalism", A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin. Vol. II, printed on last page.

[51] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. I, p. 37.

[52] Ibid., p. 71.

As a statement of an aim, objective, or ideal, this position does have merit. As a description of reality, however, it falls short of the mark. The long separation of people of African descent, to which Garvey alluded in his statement, has resulted in the development of serious differences between the various branches of the black family. The fact remains that the same forces which transformed Englishmen into Americans, let us say, or Frenchmen into Canadians, or Spaniards into West Indians, were at work converting Africans into Americans, Canadians, and West Indians. Whether this was desirable or not is hardly the argument. No one can doubt that it took place. Garvey himself had experienced the effects of this assimilation process when American-born Negroes, such as Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Asa Philip Randolph, made an issue of the fact that he was not even American.[53] In spite of this, the UNIA did make serious attempts to discourage divisiveness among people of African descent and to promote a feeling of confraternity.

The Montreal Division which, as was pointed out above, consisted of black people from various territories in the Caribbean as well as native Canadians, Americans, and the occasional person from the African continent, enjoyed some success in its attempt to implement this philosophical tenet. This was, by no means, an easy achievement when it is considered that

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[53] Randolph has already been mentioned above. Dr. Du Bois in The Crisis, Dec. 1920 and Jan. 1921, resorted to it.

people from the Caribbean suffered from a strong sense of insularity which has caused them to look with suspicion, even distrust, on one another. This has caused their territories to remain apart even today, although the leaders and the majority of their people can intellectually comprehend the wisdom, even the necessity, for them to come together in some form of political and economic union. The multiplicity of tiny nations, which have resulted from the withdrawal of direct European rule from the area, together with the collapse of the West Indian Federation in 1961, are illustrations of this point.[54]

This form of Caribbean separatism and particularism was intensified by the nativism of Blacks born in North America. The latter tended to look upon their Caribbean counterpart with considerable suspicion, and not a little envy, bordering on dislike. This attitude, in many instances, degenerated into name-calling. The people from "the islands"[55] were nicknamed "monkey chasers", and they spoke "with an accent" (presumably only West Indians spoke with an accent), wore outlandish clothes which embarrassed the native-born Negroes. To make

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[54] For a discussion of the break up of the West Indian Federation, see F.R. Augier, S.C. Gordon et al., The Making of the West Indies, pp. 293-302, and Eric Williams, From Columbus to Castro, p. 508. Even now, an economic organization of the region, CARIFTA, is experiencing growing pains.

[55] The use of the term, "the islands", suggests that the Caribbean territories are so insignificant as to be lumped together as one. This is resented by West Indians who see this as further evidence of ignorance on the part of the users. Of course, Guyana and Belize are not islands at all.

matters worse, the West Indians were considered loud and aggressive, two alleged traits which, to the native-born, contributed greatly to the difficult relationship which already existed between the black and white communities. The fact that the parents of many of the critics were born in the West Indies and still spoke with an "accent" seemed to be ignored by them, except that some of them were ashamed to acknowledge it.[56]

The person from the Caribbean, for his part, tended to look down on his Canadian counterpart whom he regarded as lazy, unambitious, and timid. Furthermore, the native Blacks were accused of being afraid of white people and subservient to them. As a result of these alleged characteristics, in the view of the West Indian critics, the Canadian-born Negro occupied the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder. It was also believed that the natives envied the "progress" made by the new-comer from the Caribbean, even as the Canadian-born remained, from generation to generation, a slum dweller with little hope and even less aspiration.[57]

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[56] Interview notes. These attitudes are still prevalent to some degree. The author was asked, for example, why he, a West Indian, felt he had the right to write our history. This question was raised by a few native-born Canadians after his book, Canada and Its People of African Descent, was published in 1977. Articles in Contrast, the black weekly newspaper published in Toronto, frequently deal with this issue. See, also, Israel, Op. Cit., pp. 94-97, and the Montreal Star, Jan. 6, 1977. On the other hand, some native Blacks are discovering the West Indies and are liking it to the point of obtaining passports, where possible.

[57] Interview notes.

Both sides showed considerable misunderstanding of each other, and were guilty of distortion and oversimplification. Indeed, it would not be incorrect to say that they both showed an internalization and acceptance of the negative stereotypic image which white society had created with respect to themselves. The persistence of such attitudes, inaccurate and superficial as they were, nevertheless, made the creation of a "feeling of Universal Confraternity among the race"[58] an extremely difficult undertaking.

At Liberty Hall this type of nativism and insularity tended to disappear or, at least, was suppressed to a great degree. The members, who were born in the U.S.A. and Canada, seemed to have forgotten their geographical origins and to have worked, in an amicable fashion, with their brothers and sisters who hailed from the Caribbean.[59] It would only be fair, however, to observe that those people had joined the UNIA and had remained active in it precisely because of their belief in the concept of international racial solidarity as well as the other major philosophical tenets of the organization. This may very well be the case. The fact is, however, that the philosophy, which did prevail at Liberty Hall, was encouraged and fostered by the organization, with some success.

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[58] Taken from the August 1, 1914, UNIA Manifesto, printed in E.D. Cronon, Great Lives Observed Marcus Garvey, p. 24.

[59] Interview notes.

In speaking about this subject, Mr. John Marshalleck, who joined the organization on January 4, 1920,[60] explained that this was the very reason why he had become a member. He had reluctantly accepted the invitation of a friend to attend a UNIA meeting. While at Liberty Hall, he saw black people from different geographical regions cooperating for the good of all. When asked why he was particularly impressed by this, he replied that he had worked in Panama and had seen the insularity of West Indians and other Blacks. This had actually prevented them from joining forces to combat the manner in which they were being exploited. He concluded by saying that any organization capable of bringing about this degree of cooperation among Blacks of such varying backgrounds was worthy of his support. Mr. Marshalleck, who remained a dedicated member of the UNIA until his death in the fall of 1976, was convinced that this spirit of universal confraternity remained one of the most notable characteristics of the Montreal Division.[61]

It is not being suggested that this feeling of oneness did not undergo severe tests and strains. It seemed as if frus-

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[60] Membership Book 1, p. 209.

[61] Notes from interviews with Mr. John Marshalleck. An octogenerian when he died, Mr. Marshalleck was a native of Jamaica. For more than 50 years he took an active role in the UNIA. Just two years before he died, he took the lead in lending the organization $1,000.00 to bail it out of financial difficulties. Six other members, seeing his example, immediately decided to lend the organization some money as well. Mrs. Marshalleck's widow was repaid in November, 1979.

trating experiences, such as those associated with serious problems as declining membership, did bring out, at least in some instances, the latent insularity and nativism which still lingered in the minds of some members. During the course of what must have been a lively debate on the declining influence of the organization and the steps necessary to halt this downslide, Miss Rosa Moore alluded to it. This dedicated Garveyite, who had joined the division on July 19, 1925, and was a most active member,[62] made the following frank remark: "If the UNIA members would just drop their West Indianism and have more Negroism[,] lots of things could be done instead of cheap talk." This insularity, she continued to upbraid the membership, was an important factor in "hastening the Downfall [sic] of the UNIA."[63] The minutes do not record whether or not there was any argument against Miss Moore's analysis.

Consistent with its acceptance of the philosophy of an international confraternity among Blacks, the Montreal Division issued "passports", letters of introduction and other papers of a diplomatic nature to members who were travelling to other areas. They were also issued to those persons who were leaving the city on a permanent basis. This practice was in keeping with provis-

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[62] Membership Book 1, p. 209.

[63] This meeting was held on October 27, 1931, in the middle of the Great Depression which was having such a ruinous effect on membership of organizations. The dues-paying membership had declined to 25. See MB 2 for the debate.

ions laid down in the constitution. Article XIII, Section 2, states that

> Each and every member who desires a Passport Identification for the purpose of travel or for the purpose of receiving recognition, consideration and likely help from other branches, or for the purpose of proving connection with a regular organization or with a branch of the UNIA, shall be supplied with one of these Passports at any Division of the organization by the Executive Secretary of that Division at which application is duly made.[64]

These documents had more than symbolic value: they were of great practical importance. It must be remembered that travelling presented the black person with serious problems ranging all the way from availability of board and lodging to actual exposure to physical violence. In the 1920's, when most of these documents were issued, this state of affairs was a reality both in Canada and the U.S.A. It must also be borne in mind that intercity travelling was a normal part of the life of black males who were employed on the railroads. These letters helped to make life less unpleasant for them when their job took them to a community with a UNIA division.[65]

In general, the "passports" described the bearer as a member of the organization in good standing who was "always willing to defend the cause of his fellow men, and the Association." They asked that "the kindest consideration" be accorded

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[64] See p. 27.

[65] Interviews with Messers Ashby, Cooper, Grant, and Keizer.

him by the other division.[66] In each case, the loyalty of the member was emphasized. If the person was transferring from one division to the other, the letter congratulated the officers and members of the receiving division for gaining "such a loyal, energetic, and enthusiastic worker."[67] If the person's stay was only temporary, the document asked that the bearer be given all the assistance and attention worthy of a true champion of the Negro race.[68]

Montreal also received letters of a similar nature from sister organizations. One such document, bearing the seal of the Sydney, Nova Scotia, Division, served to introduce Mr. Lemeul E. Brewster. He must have been indeed the loyal and dedicated member described in the letter, for he had "merited the Liberian Silver Cross" by contributing generously to the "Liberian Construction Loan" fund. He was also a founding member of his division and, at the time, was serving as its third vice president.[69]

One letter from Havana, Cuba, signed by the President and Lady President of "Blanco No. 8", described the bearer,

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[66] "Montreal Division to 'To Whom It May Concern', Nov. 11, 1933," Diplomatic File 3, ACHA Archives.

[67] "Montreal Division to New York Local, Sept. 17, 1923," Ibid.

[68] "Montreal Division to Sydney Division, May 13, 1922," Ibid.

[69] Letter dated Sept. 12, 1921, Ibid.

Mr. Phillip Padmore, as a "loyal member" of the association. He had demonstrated "the Spirit of the 'New Negro!'",[70] and the division was certain that he would "always continue to do so." The hope was then expressed that Padmore would "be shown every True Love as a Brother."[71]

Another interesting document was received from R. Hilton Tobitt of Bermuda. It seems as if he had been on a tour of UNIA divisions in eastern North America, making stops at Boston, Philadelphia and other cities. On returning to Bermuda, Tobitt thanked the Montreal members for the kindness which they had shown him during his stay among them. He was particularly grateful for the "invaluable service" which he had received from the Montrealers during the organizational phase of his division. As a result of this aid, Tobitt considered the Montreal Division as the "foster-mother" of his own UNIA unit.[72]

Other letters received by Montreal included questions concerning the black population of Canada. People wished to

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[70] For a discussion of the concept of the "New Negro" see Alain Locke, The New Negro, published in New York in 1925. Note that the term and concept are used in 1921 by this UNIA group.

[71] "Havana Blanco No. 8 to 'To Whom It May Concern', August 3, 1921," Diplomatic File 3. All the officers had English names with the exception Secretary Beausoleil. The latter is common in St. Lucia, Dominica and other former British West Indian islands. These "Cubans" most likely were West Indian immigrants. The letterhead was printed in English, except for the use of "Blanco" instead of "Division".

[72] "Tobitt to Montreal Division, March 15, 1921," Ibid.

know the total number of Blacks, the areas in the city where they lived, and the social and economic conditions under which they lived. The association was sometimes asked to supply names and addresses, as well as to provide detailed information with respect to travelling and living costs.[73] As people of African descent were constantly on the move in North America in search of that ever-elusive "better" job and more congenial environment in which to bring up their children, it must have been a great advantage for them to have available the services of an organization of this nature on which they could rely for assistance and guidance.

This concept of an international confraternity among Blacks is, perhaps, best illustrated when the reaction of UNIA followers to the treatment meted out to Africans at home and abroad is taken into consideration. In general, it can be said that these people tend to weep and try to take action, limited as this might be, whenever Africans in the Motherland or elsewhere have reason to be sad and downcast.[74] When Africa, or Africans elsewhere, have cause to rejoice, UNIA followers share in the rejoicing. The represents the quintessence of thisconcept of a "Universal Confraternity among the race."[75]

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[73] "J.B. Blake to Montreal Division, April 23, 1923," Diplomatic File 3.

[74] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. I, pp. 34, 35, 68.

[75] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 38.

To illustrate Montreal's demonstration of its commitment to this aspect of UNIA philosophy, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, the Sharpeville Massacre which occurred in South Africa in 1960, and the staging of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture[76] in Lagos, Nigeria, from January 15 to February 12, 1977, will be used as examples.

The invasion of Ethiopia by Italian troops in 1935 enraged many people throughout the world. This reaction was, by no means, limited to people of African descent, as many others staged protests and tried to assist the beleagured nation in Africa. UNIA followers were among those Montrealers who took the lead in condemning the aggressive acts of Italy. They also worked hard to educate the general public as to the meaning of Mussolini's invasion, and they tried to organize the dispatch of whatever aid they could muster on behalf of Ethiopia.

Educating the public in the manner mentioned above was a most important function because the Italian dictator and his supporters had waged an extensive propaganda campaign to justify the act of aggression. The UNIA was able to see through the fascist propaganda at an early stage, and to convey to the public its own interpretation of what was really behind Italy's action. In order to do so, UNIA supporters published a questionnaire, with relevant questions of a rhetorical nature, and this

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[76] Hereafter the popular abbreviation, Festac 77, will be used.

was widely circulated in the black community and elsewhere in the city.[77]

The UNIA, through this medium and other methods, pointed out that the three major powers were planning to partition and annex Ethiopia, the "only and last hope" for black people.[78] Mussolini's claim that he was determined to civilize Ethiopia was exposed for the fraud that it was by the questionnaire which merely observed that Ethiopia was, in fact, the "oldest civilization" in the world. It went on to say that "the natural resources and national wealth of Ethiopia," which was so clearly coveted by Italy, were more valuable to "the children of Africa" than to the Italians. Why should Emperor Selassie, the document asked, be deprived of his country in order that his subjects could be used to make "Italy and her crazy lords comfortable, powerful, and rich?"[79]

An appeal was made to the Ethiopian leader not to yield but to stand his ground and gather his "scattered subjects" in order to defeat the enemy. The time had come, the Montrealers counselled the Emperor, to work for the renewal of "Africa's

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[77] Questionnaire dated June 27, 1935, Ethiopia File, ACHA Archives. Information for this section was also collected from Veteran UNIA members and others who remembered, quite well, this important incident in Black and World History. It is a fact that black people in other areas of the world recall this incident with clarity and passion. The West Indies are a good example of this.

[78] June 27, 1935, questionnaire.

[79] Ibid. See, also, letter written by W.H. Leonards, Ibid.

Ancient Glory" in defence of which they were prepared to die.

As it was necessary to have the assistance of a maritime nation if these "Ethiopians Abroad" were to reach the battlefield, they called upon Haile Selassie to make arrangements with his "ally", Japan, to provide the necessary transportation to take them to the battlefield. The following quotation typified the feelings expressed by these people:

> We are anxious - Now! Why not now when we are willing to return to our fathers' home in the time of greatest need? ... our loyalty to you and your government is here with us. ... Africa is calling and we, her sons and daughters abroad hear her cry - Ready is our answer.[80]

It must be observed that the petitioners showed a misunderstanding of Japan and her intentions. They seemed to have overlooked the fact that Selassie's "ally", so called, had actually preceded Italy in acts of aggression when she, in 1931, launched an invasion of China in order "to 'protect' Japanese property, 'repress banditry', and 'restore order'."[81] Japan's own international conduct served as an example to Italy and it made her more likely to befriend Italy rather than Ethiopia. Partly as a result of a failure to arrange transportation, through Japan or anywhere else, no Canadian group, as far as could be ascertained, ever reached Ethiopia to fight in its defence.[82]

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[80] June 27, 1935, questionnaire.

[81] Hayes and Cole, Op. Cit., p. 515.

[82] Interview notes.

Although black Canadian troops did not, as far as is known, go to fight in Ethiopia, it would be incorrect to conclude that the efforts of these people were confined to mere rhetoric. On the contrary, consistent with their means and capacity, they carried out certain activities which were of practical importance to the beleaguered nation. Such assistance was appreciated by the government of Ethiopia which, through its representative in London, expressed its gratitude for the "practical expression of sympathy" [my emphasis] received from the Montreal Division.[83]

Liberty Hall became, in effect, a coordinating centre for aid to Ethiopia. It received and passed on information to groups and individuals about the state of affairs in Ethiopia. It collected and distributed contributions, financial and otherwise, to the war effort of that country. Queries came from places as distant as Winnipeg, Manitoba,[84] and New York City.[85] It was made available to other groups who wished to use it for the dissemination of news about the war, or for aiding the Ethiopian people in any other way. The Canadian Friends of Ethi-

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[83] "Dr. W.C. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London, to Montreal Division, Jan. 24, 1936," Ethiopia File.

[84] "Winnipeg Branch of the Canadian Friends of Ethiopia to Montreal Division, May 28, 1936," Ibid.

[85] "E.T. Rouzzeau, N.Y. City, to Montreal Division, Oct. 19, 1935," Ibid. This letter was addressed to Rev. Charles M. Tate, but was obviously intended for the UNIA chaplain, Rev. Este who lived at 741 Marin Avenue.

iopia; for example, were allowed to make use of its facilities, free of charge, to hold "mass meetings."[86]

The division also formed the core of the local committee of the International African Friends of Ethiopia. The latter, to quote a British newspaper of the day, comprised "Africans from the West Indies, the Gold Coast, Somaliland, East Africa, and other places..."[87] Its executive, which was under the chairmanship of C.L.R. James, the celebrated author and historian from Trinidad, included the Hon. T.A. Marryshow, the venerable West Indian statesman from Grenada; Dr. Millard of Br.Guyana; Jomo Kenyatta, who later led his country, Kenya, to political independence from Britain; Amy Ashwood Garvey,[88] one of the founders of the UNIA and the first wife of Marcus Garvey; John Payne, U.S.A.; Mohamed Said, Somaliland; and G.E. Moore and J.B. Danquah, the well-known African scholar and statesman, from the Gold Coast, as the modern nation of Ghana was called at that time.[89] During this period, they were all residing in London, England, and they carried out their activities from New Oxford Street in the British capital.

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[86] MB 2, p. 95.

[87] The Manchester Guardian, July 29, 1935.

[88] A serious biographical study of this Mrs. Garvey is needed. This will help to throw new light not only on the Garvey movement but also on black nationalism of the period in general.

[89] International African Friends of Ethiopia (hereafter abbreviated as IAFE) pamphlet, Ethiopia File.

It is not suprising that IAFE and the UNIA worked so closely together since they both shared the same objectives. The London-based organization attempted to counteract the propaganda which the Italian dictator and his associates were spreading in England in order to win support there and discredit the Ethiopian people. IAFE had also planned to send "men and women of African race and descent" to Ethiopia for the purpose of joining the military and civil service of that country and of bringing about the defeat of "Italian aggression."[90]

One of the factors which motivated IAFE members to take these steps was their perception of the racist undertone of the entire Mussolini operation. They had no doubt that the Italian dictator was attempting to justify his aggression with the suggestion that people of African descent constituted an inferior race and, as a result, must be placed under the tutelage of those considered to be of superior ethnic types.[91] As the British-based group put it,

> ... the reproach most frequently levelled against people of African race - an argument strongly used against Ethiopia by Italy in the present dispute, and one most keenly felt

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[90] IAFE pamphlet.

[91] This attitude was consistent with the idea of the "white man's burthen" with respect to the "lesser breeds without the law" which prevailed during the period of the "New Imperialism". The British writer, Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), was one the high priests of this attitude. It certainly was not peculiar to Mussolini and his Italian followers.

> by large masses of coloured people - is that they are incapable of acting on their own initiative and are always dependent on Europeans.[92]

The reader will readily comprehend why Garveyites would join forces with almost any group to destroy this myth which was, allegedly, gaining credence in "influential" circles in Britain as well as in other countries.[93]

One of the chief weapons used in the propaganda war against Ethiopia was the charge that slavery was still a flourishing institution in that country. This was constantly repeated "in the Press and elsewhere" to justify the annexation of that country by Italy.[94] To compound this charge, Ethiopia was made to appear barbaric, with no effective governmental control over large areas of the country. With this end in view, it was rumoured that innocent travellers and visitors were molested and, in some instances, killed "at sight" in some regions of that nation.[95]

Such was the damaging propaganda which IAFE znd the UNIA were determined to neutralize because, apart from oversimplifi-

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[92] IAFE pamphlet.

[93] Ibid.

[94] E. Sylvia Pankhurst, "Abyssinia Through Candid Eyes", Ethiopia File. In this pamphlet, which was received by the Montreal Division on April 2, 1936, Ms. Pankhurst argued that the Ethiopian authorities were trying to correct the problems. Furthermore, the European occupiers of the regions were far more guilty of the practises than were the Ethiopians.

[95] IAFE pamphlet.

cation and outright distortion, it had the effect of disguising "the fundamental fact of Italian aggression." They, therefore, called upon "Africans and people of African descent all over the world" to bring these matters to the attention of their respective governments. They also urged such people to pledge "themselves to assist Abyssinia in her struggle by all means at their disposal."[96] The Montreal Division of the UNIA, with its strong attachment to the philosophy of pride in its African heritage and the international confraternity of black people, found it most natural to cooperate with IAFE to help defeat the Italian aggressors.

The division also worked closely with another group. This one was known as the International Friends of Ethiopia Red Cross Aid.[97] There was also another organization, the Abyssinia Association, based in London, and which organized the Emperor of Ethiopia's Fund, with which the Montrealers co-operated.[98] Unlike the Abyssinia Association, IFE, which also had its headquarters in the British capital, had a Canadian branch which was located on St. Catherine St. West, Montreal.[99]

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[96] IAFE pamphlet.

[97] Hereafter abbreviated as IFE. This group was closely linked with IAFE.

[98] Made up mainly of English people, many of whom were from the upper strata of British society, this group concentrated on raising funds. See June 1, 1938, letter, Ethiopia File.

[99] IFE letterhead, Ibid.

With the possible exception of Mr. Theo. Owusu Asare, the second Vice President, and Madame Clem Racker, who was the Secretary-Treasurer, the officials of the Canadian branch of IFE were also members of the Montreal UNIA.[100] The President, Mr. Patrick A. McCrae, had joined the division in March 1919, thereby becoming one of its original members. The second Vice President was Dr. K.I. Melville, the noted Mc Gill University professor and internationally-famous pharmacologist, mentioned above. The Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Clara De Shileds, had joined the UNIA on November 21, 1920, and had served in several official capacities, becoming president of the Ladies' Division in 1922.[101]

IFE appeared to have concentrated its efforts on sending medical aid to Ethiopia. It appealed for hospital supplies as well as cash and articles which could be sold to raise funds. The medical supplies were to be sent to Ethiopia to help "the wounded defenceless women and children ... and their men."[102] At the time of this appeal, the organization already had two doctors, Hooper and Lambe, at work in the beleaguered country. Except for the statement that these doctors were "from Toronto"

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[100] Relevant available documents, such as membership books, do not include the names of Asare and Racker. It is possible that Mrs. Racker was listed under her maiden name if she was ever a member of the UNIA.

[101] Membership Book 1, p. 438 and MF 5 for joining date and office held repsectively.

[102] IFE circular letter, Nov. 27, 1935, Ethiopia File.

and supported all appeals for medical aid, no other information was provided about these men.[103]

In spite of its cooperation with IFE, the Montreal Division felt that its financial contributions should be sent directly to the Ethiopian government rather than through IFE. After considering the matter and related subjects at meetings held during that period, it was decided to retain its identity in this regard and send its donations through its international leader, Marcus Garvey, who was then based in the British capital.[104] To that effect, President E.J. Tucker wrote Garvey and enclosed a cheque for $50.00. The letter explained that the members would have liked to make a bigger donation, but that their "economic condition" had made this impossible.[105] Tucker was referring to the depression which had hit all Montreal, including its black residents, with utmost severity.

The President General replied that he had passed on the donation to the Ethiopian Minister in London. Garvey then congratulated the Montreal Division for actually sending money. He explained that many people, who claimed to be collecting funds for the Ethiopian cause, were keeping the money for their

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[103] IFE circular letter, Nov. 27, 1935.

[104] MB 2, pp. 94-95, pp. 97 and 115.

[105] "Tucker to Garvey, December 17, 1935," Ethiopia File. As was mentioned above, the financial membership of the division had reached its nadir.

own personal use. He expressed the hope that "no Branch, Division, or connection of the UNIA will do anything of the kind." In a tone of sadness, he concluded, "the dishonesty of some of our people is monumental."[106] The "obedient servant", as Garvey frequently signed his letters, must have been thinking of his own bitter experiences. Many of the top officials, in whom he had placed great confidence during the heyday of the UNIA, turned out to be monumentally dishonest, pocketing the organization's money, thereby contributing greatly to its decline.

The Ethiopian Minister to the Court of St. James, Dr. W.C. Martin, wasted little time in responding to the gesture of the Montreal Division. He thanked its members for the donation which, he declared, would be a source of "great encouragement" to the people of his nation, and would be of "great assistance" as well.[107]

This relationship between the Ethiopian government and the Montreal Division developed to the point where the latter was considered a serious and reliable ally. Dr. Martin later wrote, seeking the assistance of the Montrealers in carrying out quasi-diplomatic functions on behalf of his country. At the time, Ethiopia was trying to raise a "Private Loan" in order to

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106"Marcus Garvey to Montreal Division, January 2, 1936," Ethiopia File.

107"Dr. W.C. Martin to Montreal Division, January 4, 1936," Ibid.

purchase "urgently required" weapons to repel the Italian aggressors. To this end, a press release, seeking help from the British people, was issued by the Ethiopian legation. Dr. Martin sent a copy of this document to Montreal with the suggestion that it be suitably altered to meet local circumstances.[108]

Dr. Martin also expressed the fear that the "so-called Peace negotiations", which had already begun in London, were merely a pretext to grant to Mussolini the Ethiopian territories which he had coveted in the first place. Accordingly, the Ethiopian ambassador asked his Montreal supporters to prepare themselves for further action on behalf of the Motherland, They were given the responsibility of preparing the people of this city and country "to protest most strongly against any unjust Peace Terms that may be imposed on Ethiopia."[109]

The above ought to be sufficient to understand the nature of the role played by the Montreal Division in the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The organization did send financial aid, the full of extent of which is not as yet known. The available records show that $50.00 were dispatched on December, 17, 1935,[110] and an additional sum of $25.00 was sent on March

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[108] "Dr. Martin to Montreal Division, March 24, 1936," Ethiopia File.

[109] Ibid.

[110] The Ethiopian Funds Account Book, ACHA Archives, sets the date as December 18, 1935.

24, 1936.[111] The UNIA also served as a coordinating centre for pro-Ethiopian activities. Its most important contribution to the Ethiopian cause was probably the quasi-diplomatic function which it carried on during the Italian invasion. It helped to keep the war and the Ethiopian side of the dispute constantly before the eyes of Canadians. This had the effect of increasing the sympathy which this nation, as a whole, already had for the embattled people of that African country. In any war it is important for the belligerents to have allies. They may not be actively engaged in military activities, but they could have positive influences in other important ways. In order to gain such support, it is usually necessary to establish diplomatic missions. A nation as poor as Ethiopia and fighting for its very survival could ill afford such institutions in every country. It was, therefore, of great value to have some of the work, normally conducted by such offices, carried out by voluntary groups. This was precisely what the Montreal UNIA was doing on behalf of Ethiopia.

The second example to show how strongly attached the Montreal Division was to the concept of an international confraternity among Blacks involved its reaction to the Sharpeville Massacre. It occurred in 1960 when the South African police opened fire on Blacks who were peacefully demonstrating against

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[111] See Ethiopian Funds. Account Book.

being forced to carry identification papers on their person at all times. This incident sent shock waves throughout the world.

At this time, the UNIA membership had been reduced to about one dozen active participants, but there was no corresponding decrease in the feeling of a sense of confrtaernity. The members reacted as if they were next of kin to the victims, joining the rest of the world in vigorously pnotesting against the wanton slaughter of the peaceful demonstrators.

Their protest was widened to include not only the Sharpeville Massacre, but also the entire system of apartheid, that despotic rule of a minority over a majority on the basis of race and colour. Letters and telegrams of indignation and protest were sent to leading international figures such as the Head of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of the U.S.A., and the Secretary of the World Council of Churches.[112] The Prime Ministers of Canada and of India, as well as the Leader of the Opposition in this country, were also included in the list of persons who received protests from the Montreal UNIA.[113] Nor was the general public ignored. Press releases were issued in Montreal and sent to other parts of the nation with the hope

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[112] See letters, telegrams, etc. in the South Africa File, ACHA Archives.

[113] Ibid.

that they would help to trigger protest demonstrations.[114]

The UNIA members stressed the horrible conditions forced upon the "defenseless people" of South Africa who were being "ruthlessly dominated and exploited ... in their own land." The communications media were called upon to do their duty and keep the South African situation constantly before the eyes of the world until an equitable solution was found.[115]

Queen Elizabeth of Britain was asked to act in her capacity as head of the Commonwealth of Nations, of which South Africa was a member, to put an end to the "inhuman atrocities" which were being perpetrated against the black people of that benighted land. The hope was expressed that she would succeed in convincing "those most inhuman men" to show respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and desist from "making a Hell on earth" for the Blacks of South Africa.[116]

Commonwealth statesmen such as Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Prime Minister John Diefenbaker of Canada were petitioned to raise this "inhuman massacre of our brothers and sisters [emphasis mine] during the deliberations of the forthcoming conference of the Commonwealth

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[114] "Tucker to the Montreal Gazette, March 28, 1960," and "Langdon to the Montreal Star, April 3, 1960," South Africa File.

[115] Press Release, March 28, 1960, and "Langdon to Gazette, April 3, 1960," Ibid.

[116] "Langdon to Elizabeth II, Spril 2, 1960," Ibid.

Prime Ministers. The strongly-worded telegram condemned the Sharpeville Massacre as a "disgrace to civilization."[117] Mr. D. Hammarskjold, who was then the Secretary General of the United Nations, was called upon to aid the South African Blacks "in this hour of stress."[118]

The language used in these messages was strong, indeed, but it was indicative of the dismay and frustration which the UNIA had felt over the entire South African affair. It was also the result of a feeling of powerlessness on the part of the protestors who would, most probably, have liked to be in a position to take direct action against the apartheid system. Above all, it reflected the strong sense of identity, the deep feeling of confraternity, which the Montreal UNIA shared with their "brothers and sisters" of South Africa.

It is not easy to estimate, with any degree of certitude, the effect which these protests had on the world leaders. In assessing this, it must be borne in mind that other groups and individuals also registered protests with these same international figures. Any action taken by them, therefore, was influenced by these protests as well as by those raised by the Montreal UNIA.

As far as replies to the letters, telegrams and other

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[117] Telegrams to Nehru, Nkrumah, and Diefenbaker, March 27, 1960; and to Nehru, April 18, 1960, South Africa File.

[118] Telegram to Dag Hammarskjold, March 28, 1960; Ibid.

means of communication are concerned, the records show that Prime Minister Diefenbaker was the only person to respond. A letter, written by his secretary, Claude Gauthier, reached UNIA some two months after the organization had registered its protest.[119] This tends to suggest that he did not attach the same degree of urgency to the problem as had been assigned it by the Montreal Division. As far as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in May of that year was concerned, however, the UNIA had every reason to be satisfied with the results of its efforts, even though it must share the accolade with the other groups and individuals who had made their sense of indignation known to those leaders.

It may be recalled that South Africa, during this period, had changed its constitution from that of a monarchy, with the British monarch as Head of State, to that of a republic with an elected president. According to tradition, any Commonwealth member, whose constitution underwent such a transformation, automatically lost its place in the organization and must apply for membership, if it is to continue to remain in this "family of nations." This was in keeping with the established principle that there was no "automatic membership in the commonwealth."[120]

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[119] "Gauthier to UNIA, May 5 and 19, 1960," South Africa File.

[120] Diefenbaker's report to the House of Commons on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting, Hansard, May 19, 1960. Hereafter abbreviated as 1960 Diefenbaker Report.

In the past, beginning with India,[121] application to rejoin the association, on the part of a former member whose constitution had undergone the type of change mentioned above, was considered a mere formality.[122] With the blood of their Sharpeville victims still dripping from their hands, however, the South African representatives discovered that they were, in effect, personae non gratae in spite of the determined effort of the British Prime Minister, Sir Harold Macmillan, to keep that country in the organization. Macmillan used the time-worn argument that it would be better to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth family and exert pressure there to bring about the desired changes. He did not explain, as far as could be determined why that tactic which, supposedly, had been in effect for so many years, had failed to bring about any meaningful changes in the apartheid system.

Leaders such as Nkrumah and Nehru felt that refusal to readmit South Africa into the organization would constitute a public snub to the minority ruling clique in that country, and could serve as the beginning of international pressure against it. If sustained and enlarged, such pressure would be more likely to produce the results which, even Macmillan, described as most desirable. As a result of such of such opposition,

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[121] In 1937, when the Irish Free State became the Irish Republic of Eire, it did not wish to remain in the Commonwealth.

[122] G. Bruun and W.K. Ferguson, A Survey of European Civilization, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1969, p. 97.

South Africa withdrew its application, thereby admitting that she was found to be an unacceptable partner to the majority of commonwealth nations.[123]

The Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker played the crucial role in this drama. He was the only white leader at the meeting to make it unequivocally clear that the apartheid system was incompatible with the ideals of the Commonwealth and that South Africa must agree to its gradual extinction or end its association with the organization. Canada's position was pivotal because, with the exception of Britain, she was the senior member present and her views, as a consequence, carried considerable weight among white and non-white members of the organization. In addition, the support of a member, the population of which was predominantly white, was crucial if the stand aganst South Africa were to have had any meaningful effect.

In his report to the House of Commons, Ottawa, Diefenbaker explained to Eric Louw, the South African Minister of External Affairs who led his country's delegation to the conference, that Canada had "no sympathy for policies of racial discrimination," and that his country's racist attitude was "basically incompatible with the multiracial nature of the commonwealth association." Human dignity and the worth of

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[123] The British government continued to treat South Africa as if that country had remained a commonwealth member. This, more than anything else, explained what Macmillan really stood for.

individual, regardless of race or colour, were principles which, as the Canadian Prime Minister lectured the South African delegation, all members of the Commonwealth had to respect. There could be little doubt, he concluded, where Canada stood on such fundamental issues.[124]

As if to anticipate future arguments that the expulsion of South Africa did not result in any noticeable change in the attitude of the leaders of that country, Diefenbaker explained that "magic improvements ... in a situation of such tension and complexity" were not to be expected. He felt that the future would, nevertheless, show that the Commonwealth had made the right decision and had responded correctly to "the stern test to which it was put."[125]

At the request of the Canadian Prime Minister, a copy of his report to the House of Commons was forwarded to the UNIA because that organization had shown a "special interest in the problem."[126] In acknowledging receipt of this document, Mr. Tucker and Mrs. Elaine Pierre, Secretary of the UNIA, thanked Mr. Diefenbaker for the "noble part" which he had played at the

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[124] Hansard, May 19, 1960.

[125] Ibid. While it is true that Canada did not take any economic action against South Africa, it did join in bringing international pressure against that country and its apartheid system. It is one of the nations of the western bloc to speak consistently against South Africa at the United Nations.

[126] "Claude Gauthier to UNIA, May 19, 1960," South Africa File.

conference. They assured him that members of the division had followed his performance in London and were rather pleased with his principled stand. They expressed the hope that Canada would continue to show to the rest of the world "how people [of different background and races] can live and work together in peace."[127]

Unlike the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the indiscriminate shooting of peaceful black demonstrators at Sharpeville, Festac 77 represented an occasion for joy and happiness among Pan-Africanists everywhere. To followers of Marcus Garvey, this festival was a most significant expression of the philosophical concept of the international brotherhood of black people.

This festival has been described as "the biggest and most significant gathering of black people in the history of the human race."[128] Sons and daughters of Africa, who had been separated from the Motherland for more than 500 years, returned to the "ancestral home" to celebrate this "festive gathering of the tribes." On the soil of Mother Africa, they joined with their brothers and sisters who were born on the continent and, there, reasserted the cherished UNIA philosophy that there was

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[127] "Montreal UNIA to John Diefenbaker, June 13, 1960," South Africa File.

[128] Ebony Magazine, May 1977, p. 48. The account of Festac 77, given by this magazine, is easily the best that I have read. Its editorial, in particular, captured both the spirit and significance of the festival. The author, as one of the Canadian participants, could testify to this.

indeed a black nation, a black world, "the citizens of which" were "spread all around the globe."[129]

More than 30,000 people, "fragments of the same body," converged on Lagos, Nigeria, to testify to "their oneness in the world."[130]

> Aborigines from Australia, intellectuals from Brazil, workers from Cuba, artists from Harlem and Watts and South Side Chicago, professors from England, politicians from Zimbabwe and South Africa: all participated in a many-tongued, many-coloured, many-splendored celebration of the cultural and spiritual solidarity of the Black World. And for blacks from New Guinea to New York, the festival was an emotional and politically significant return to roots.[131]

Although not mentioned in the quotation above, Canada was among the 55 nations to be represented at this festival. Forty five participants and 14 visitors carried the Canadian colours at this memorable family reunion.[132]

The Montreal Division of the UNIA was not in a financial position to send a delegation to Lagos. This did not reduce the ability of the organization to make its presence felt, however, because several members of the Canadian delegation were also adherents of the UNIA. It was agreed that such people, including

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[129] Ebony Magazine, May 1977, p. 48.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Festac 77 File B, ACHA Archives. The Federal Government paid the passage for 45 official participants, while the visitors paid their own way. The Nigerian Government supplied the participants with board and lodging.

its president, Mr. H.J. Langdon, would represent the interests of the division. Writing in a Nigerian publication, the UNIA president expressed the views of the other members in the following words:

> To me, this [Festac 77] was the realization of a dream of long standing [,] as I have for many years been yearning to see Africa [,] the Motherland. Being an officer of the UNIA founded by Marcus Garvey, it was with great pride and joy for me to join with the others of our Canadian contingent and numerous others on this historic occasion.[133]

He went on to emphasize that Festac 77 represented the fulfillment of one of Garvey's dreams, the "great awakening of the African and Black people of the world."[134] In concluding his letter, Mr. Langdon called upon all "countries of the African motherland" to unite in order to ensure the "total liberation of the entire African people."[135]

The work of the UNIA adherents at Festac 77 did not end with writing letters to newspapers and enjoying the feeling of confraternity with their brothers and sisters from the four corners of the globe. The opportunity was used to foster the development of this spirit as well as to advance the other teachings of the organization. It is difficult to measure the

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[133]The Lagos Sunday Times, January 23, 1977.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Ibid. The clipping from this newspaper is available in the ACHA Archives.

extent to which they succeeded, but there is evidence to indicate that some success, however fleeting, may have been achieved.

As a result of their work, for example, a branch of the organization was established in Lagos.[136] The nucleus for this was formed at a meeting in the Ikoyi Hotel between Mr. Langdon and two other members of the Montreal Diyision and Mr. and Mrs. O.N.E. Osuji. In addition, letters were received from Nigerians, after the festival had ended and the delegations had returned to their homes, to the effect that some of them had been favourably impressed with the work of the Montreal Division. On the question of the universal confraternity of Blacks, one university student wrote as follows: "We see now, not as individuals, but as a collective whole, having one common interest."[137] Another promised not to forget the lessons he received on the "universal brotherhood of the black race."[138]

It is quite possible, of course, that such expressions represented the emotional reactions to the unique experience which the festival actually was. As a result, they may be of little or no consequence in the long run, especially as the

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[136]"O.N.E. Osuji, President of the new Lagos Division, to UNIA Parent Body, June 13, 1977." A copy of this letter is in Festac 77 File G, ACHA Archives.

[137]"Yomi Popoola to Leo W. Bertley, February 21, 1977," Ibid.

[138]"James A. Oya to Henry J. Langdon, April 19, 1977," Ibid.

factors which make for divisiveness among people of African descent are so many and so powerful. Nevertheless, one ought never to underestimate the potential development of an idea when sown, as the resulting growth can, at times, exceed all expectations and understanding.

The third major philosophical ideal of the UNIA advanced the view that the African continent was "the legitimate, moral and righteous home of all Negroes" as well as their most important patrimony.[139] In order to make this a reality, a necessary first step involved "redeeming" Africa, the Motherland. By African redemption, the UNIA meant getting the colonial powers out of the continent, and replacing them by governments run by Africans born "at home or abroad". In the words of Garvey, Africa had to be taken "away from the grasp of the invader"[140] and from "the hands of alien exploiters."[141]

There is no evidence to suggest that the UNIA had any idea that the African nation-states to emerge from the decolonization of the continent would define their citizenship and nationality in such a way as to exclude all people, black or

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[139] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 122.

[140] Ibid., p. 96. The UNIA, as far as I have been able to investigate, never came up with a practical plan for getting rid of the colonizers from Europe. In fact, I am left with the impression that the organization felt that it merely had to request the pull-out of those forces and they would oblige.

[141] The Blackman, December 30, 1929.

non-black, who were not born within their borders.[142] In their enthusiastic acceptance of the concepts of an international confraternity of Blacks and of Africa for Africans at home and abroad, Garveyites followed the example of their leader in underestimating the strength of those forces which tended to divide people of African descent.

Garvey stressed the importance of establishing black nations because he was convinced that this was the only way in which Blacks would gain the respect of other peoples. These black nations must be sufficiently strong "to lend protection to the members of the [black] race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth."[143] To establish black nations, it was first necessary to have a toehold in Africa and operate from there. This, in turn, required the "return"[144] of black people to their ancestral homeland.

This back-to-Africa philosophy, as the last idea in the paragraph is popularly called, has generally been interpreted to mean that Garvey was advocating a wholesale immigration of all Blacks to the Motherland. This misunderstanding, which even well-meaning active members have displayed, resulted partly from the

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[142] These borders, accepted by the new states, were mostly artifical lines drawn by the colonizers without respect even to the integrity of native tribes.

[143] The Blackman, December 30, 1929.

[144] Inverted commas to signify that these people were not born in Africa. Henceforth they will not be used.

fact that Garvey, on some occasions, oversimplified his message in order to get it across to his audience. Reading some of his speeches, one could get the impression, if one is not careful, that he was calling for an immediate mass exodus of New World Blacks to Africa.[145] More careful study will reveal, however, that this was more rhetoric than policy. Too bad that those who were in Liberty Hall or elsewhere and were subjected to the rhetorical skills of that spell-binding orator did not have the time or opportunity for more careful study of the true meaning of his words.

Garvey's ideas on the subject called for long-range planning in which qualified technicians and administrators would lead a group of pioneers whose responsibility would be to prepare an area to receive a small initial group of Blacks. They, in turn, will do the work necessary to receive larger contingents. As he explained in one of his speeches, it was the "thoughtful and industrious" Blacks who wished "to go back to Africa, ..." but "cannot all go in a day or year, ten or twenty years. It will take time under the rule of modern economics."[146]

In addition to the time and preparation factors, Garvey insisted that "proper help" was also necessary if such a pro-

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[145] See A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 122, for one such example.

[146] Ibid. Mr. Tucker has told me that Garvey often made this point about the cost and time involved to him and others.

gramme were to be successful. He relied on the assistance of western nations because, he felt, they had a moral obligation to come to the aid of Blacks in this matter. (Of course, the fact that they alone, for all practical purposes, had the means, financial and otherwise, to execute such a plan successfully must have entered into Garvey's calculation). With respect to their moral obligation, Garvey argued that the western nations had forcefully taken Africans from their homeland and had exploited them unmercifully in homes, fields, and factories. In his view, such assistance would be a part of the reparations which Europeans and their descendants owed Africans and their descendants.[147]

The U.S.A., long regarded as the capital of the scattered black world, was singled out as having the greatest obligation in this regard. Garvey explained his position in this long and moving quotation:

> We have watered her America's vegetation with our tears for two hundred and fifty years. We have built her cities and laid the foundation of her imperialism with the mortar of our blood and bones for three centuries, and now we cry to her for help. Help us, America, as we helped you. We helped you in the Revolutionary War; We helped you in the Civil War, and, although Lincoln helped us, the price is not half paid. We helped you in the Spanish-American War. We died nobly and courageously in Mexico, and did we not leave behind us on the stained battlefields of

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[147] During the period that Garvey was advancing these claims, the concept of "reparations" was very much in the news. The reader will recall that the victorious nations of the First World War demanded reparations from the defeated nations, especially from Germany.

> France and Flanders our rich blood to mark the poppies' bloom, and to bring back to you the glory of the flag that never touched the dust? ... Let white America help us for fifty years honestly, as we have helped her for three hundred years. ... Help us to gradually go home, America.[148]

Just as the philosophy of the return-to-Africa did not mean an immediate, unplanned move, it also did not imply a wholesale removal of all New World Blacks to that continent. Garvey's plans called for the repatriation of "the thoughtful and industrious" of the race. One could say that it was tantamount to a veritable "brain drain" or "decapitation" of the black societies abroad. "We are not preaching any doctrines to ask all the Negroes of Harlem and of the United States," explained Garvey, "to leave for Africa. The majority of us may remain here."[149]

In his attempt to emphasize this point and disabuse the minds of people on this question, Garvey repeated that idea, sometimes with a little variation, for greater effect. At Liberty Hall in Montreal, for example, he once declared that he "did not want all the Negroes in Africa" because some were "no good here, and naturally would be no good there."[150] Mr. Tucker, who was present when the remark was made, explained to the writer

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[148] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 121. This speech throws some light on some of the reasons for Garvey's disagreement with some of his black American critics. Garvey sees America as a white man's country. Many Blacks could not agree with him. They worked too hard to build it.

[149] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 93.

[150] Interview notes, See, also, Ibid., Vol II, p. 122.

that its intent was serious and was expected to be taken in that vein, although the form of delivery was humourous and provoked raucous laughter from the audience. The use of humour, he explained, was effectively employed by Garvey in his speeches, and was one of the reasons why he was such an outstanding performer on a public platform.[151]

In order to get a better understanding of this aspect of UNIA philosophy, it is necessary to recall the circumstances prevailing in the western world at that time. This was the period after the end of the First World War, of the Treaty of Versailles, and of the Fourteen Points which U.S. President Woodrow Wilson brought to the bargaining table. There was considerable discussion concerning the rights of oppressed minorities such as Czechs, Slovaks, and Slavs, to establish their own national states.[152] Other groups such as the Irish and the people of India were also seeking to have their own independent nation. The fact that no consideration was given to the subject peoples of colonial Africa in this regard did not preclude sons and daughters of that continent from demanding equal justice for the Motherland and its people.

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[151] I have not seen any mention of Garvey as a person with a well-developed sense of humour, Yet, many persons who knew him and to whom I spoke were impressed by this. One such individual is Bishop Reginald Barrow, father of the former Prime Minister of Barbados, and the fourth bishop of the African Orthodox Church which was founded by Rev. Dr. George McGuire, the first Chaplain General of the UNIA.

[152] Bruun and Ferguson, Op. Cit., pp. 821-831 and 861.

To the UNIA, for example, those post-war developments signified "political re-adjustment along natural lines."[153] It realized, however, that Blacks would have to take the initiative in ensuring that their aspirations would be taken into consideration if, as a group, they were not to "be lost to the world in another few decades."[154] The organization, therefore, lobbied for the establishment of independent black states in what was once the African colonial empire of Germany.[155] As Garvey saw this realignment of the world, "every race must find a home; hence the great cry of "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS", those at home and those abroad."[156]

It should not be too surprising that such attempts on the part of the UNIA came to naught. The victorious allies were concerned only with their own interests which, as they understood them, did not include the alienation of African colonies from European power and control. Even where the principle of self-determination was applied, such as in certain parts of Europe itself, its application coincided with what was to the benefit of the victors.[157] Garvey and the UNIA, therefore, were

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[153] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. I, p. 34.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Tony Martin, Race First, p. 45.

[156] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. I, p. 34.

[157] Bruun and Ferguson, Op. Cit., pp. 828-829. Even the American delegation, led by President Wilson, did not expect the cynical behaviour on the part of France, Britain, and Italy.

either not aware of the cynicism of the Europeans and, to a lesser degree, their American partners, or were hoping that appeals to them might, somehow, bring about a change of heart. It could also be argued that, by sending representatives to Europe, Garvey gave notice to the world that the UNIA considered itself the spokesman for people of African descent.

Rejection by the victors in the First World War of the UNIA desire to establish an African homeland in the Motherland did not discourage the organization from pressing its demands. It continued to enunciate the principle that Africa belonged to Blacks everywhere. For failing to recognize what it considered to be the legitimate rights of people of African descent, the League of Nations was condemned with the declaration that it was "null and void as far as the Negro was concerned."[158]

The League, of course, remained unimpressed by the declarations of an organization which had neither the power nor the ability to convert its high-sounding statements into meaningful action. Furthermore, the UNIA claim to speak for all Blacks did not go unchallenged. Dr. W.E.B DuBois, for example, had publicly "repudiated the plan of Marcus Garvey, Provisional President of Africa," advocating a policy of "'Africa for the Africans.'" This American Negro leader, who was one of the

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[158] Article 45 of the Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World adopted by the UNIA in convention in August, 1920. See A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 141.

severest critics of the UNIA, was also quoted as saying that the "Colored American could not stand the African climate." As if this were not enough, he informed the world that Negroes could not "oust the Europeans from the Dark Continent" and did "not desire to do so."[159]

Dr. DuBois was supported by other prominent politicians and personalities of African descent. One of these was Blaise Diagne of Senegal, a French military hero of the First World War and a member of the French National Assembly. Diagne added that, although he was black, he was "French first!"[160] Another official of France was quoted as saying that he preferred to "remain a Frenchman" instead of returning "to Africa, and remain a Negro."[161]

The critics of Garvey and his brand of Pan-Africanism, whose declarations encouraged the League of Nations and the victors at Versailles to ignore the UNIA, were not only Negroes born in the U.S.A. and in Africa. One Negro from the West Indian island of Guadeloupe, who was a member of the French National Assembly, rejected "the 'Africa for Africans' slogan" and con-

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[159] The New York Tribune and the New York World, Sept. 6, 1921, both in A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 71 and 72. Dr. DuBois was in Paris to attend a Pan-African Congress which he had called to coincide with the 1921 UNIA Convention.

[160] The New York Sun, Sept. 6, 1921, Ibid.

[161] The New York Herald, Sept. 6, 1921, Ibid.

demned all those who propagated it.[162] Not to be outdone, a representative of the Haitian government "corroborated the attitude of the Colored Deputies."[163] Garvey had certainly underestimated the extent to which people of African descent had undergone the process of assimilation, thereby making for significant differences in outlook. Skin colour or a sharing of an original African heritage proved, once more, to be weak forces of unification when pitted against environmental factors such as educational and socializing processes.

In spite of opposition from these and other quarters, the UNIA still tried to implement its philosophy. At that time, there were only two independent nations on the African continent, Ethiopia and Liberia. The remainder of the Motherland was divided into colonies owned and controlled by European nations. Even Ethiopia and Liberia enjoyed a degree of independence which was circumscribed and limited by the actions of more powerful nations such as the U.S.A., Britain, and France.[164]

Liberia was chosen as the country where the UNIA had the best chance of establishing itself. Ethiopia, situated in

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[162]The New York World, Sept. 6, 1921, Ibid.

[163]The New York Sun, Sept. 6, 1921, Ibid.

[164]Liberia was a de facto American colony whose indebtness to foreign nations made its exercise of real sovereignity rather limited. Ethiopia was under constant threat from Italy. This matter came to a head, as was seen earlier in this chapter, with the invasion of Ethiopia by Mussolini's forces.

the eastern horn of Africa, was too far way from the New World. In addition, its rulers, unlike those of Liberia, showed little or no interest in the plight of New World Blacks. One other advantage, apart from its geographical location, which seemed to make Liberia the better prospect was the fact that it was a creation of the U.S.A., and its leading figures were descendants of American and Caribbean Blacks.[165] On the surface, at least, it did not appear unreasonable to assume that the UNIA was more likely to get a sympathetic hearing from that West African nation than from its counterpart situated far to the northeast. As for the other parts of the continent, they were completely closed to the UNIA. Their colonial rulers were understandably afraid of the organization and had taken steps to ensure that it stayed out of their territories.[166]

In order to negotiate with the Liberian government the terms under which the UNIA would be allowed to establish itself in that country, a delegation was sent to Liberia in 1920. It consisted of Rev. W.H. Eason, a native of North Carolina who, at the time, was leader of the U.S. section of the organization; Hubert Harrison, who was born in the Virgin Islands, was editor

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[165] J.D. Fage, A History of West Africa An Introductory Survey, Cambridge, University Press, 1969, pp. 120-122.

[166] Robert G. Weisbord, "Marcus Garvey, Pan-Negroist: The View from Whitehall," in J.H. Clarke, ed., Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa, pp. 421-427. See, also, Tony Martin, Op. Cit., pp. 115-121.

of the Negro World and, in the words of J.A. Rogers, was "perhaps the foremost Aframerican intellect of his time, ... one of America's greatest minds;"[167] and Elie Garcia, a native of Haiti who was auditor of the Black Star Line.[168]

This, the first delegation sent by the UNIA to Liberia, sought permission from the Liberian government to "transfer its headquarters to the City of Monrovia or any other convenient township" of that country.[169] In his presentation to Liberian President C.B.D. King, Garcia, who was designated commissioner and leader of the delegation, tried to impress upon the government that Liberia had many advantages to gain from acceding to the request of the UNIA.[170]

The organization was pleased with the response of the Liberian authorities to the extent that it sent another delegation to that country the following year. Led by G.O. Marke, who was born in Sierra Leone and had been chosen Supreme Deputy Potentate of the UNIA, this delegation consisted of six men, including four technical "experts".[171] Its major task was to undertake a feasibility study and to initiate preliminary tech-

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[167] See World's Great Men of Colour, Vol. II, p. 611.

[168] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 362. Note that they all subsequently broke with the UNIA.

[169] Ibid., p. 363.

[170] Benefits included helping to pay off Liberia's loans.

[171] Pharmacist, agriculturalist, surveyor, and builder. See opposite p. 367, Ibid.

nical work associated with the reception of contingents of UNIA colonists.[172]

A third delegation was dispatched to Liberia in December, 1923. Its purpose was to "finalize all arrangements for the work of colonization."[173] This group, which was led by Secretary General R.L. Poston, carried a letter to the Liberian President which, inter alia, guaranteed the settlement of between "20,000 and 30,000 families" in Liberia by September, 1924.[174] The delegation was warmly received, and the government went as far as establishing a high-powered committee to coordinate settlement plans. This group of prominent Liberians went about its assignment with dispatch and, on February 16, 1924, it was ready with its report. Its findings were favourable to the UNIA plans, and it made 9 recommendations to the government, including the choice of a site for the first settlement.[175]

Encouraged by this apparent willingness of the Liberian government to cooperate in the project, the UNIA sent a fourth delegation to that country. Led by William Strange, "a mining and civil engineer with more than thirty years of experience,"[176]

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[172] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 367.

[173] Ibid., p. 367.

[174] Ibid., p. 368.

[175] Ibid., pp. 371372.

[176] Ibid., p. 376.

the contingent left New York in June, 1924. It was essentially a technical mission, consisting, as it did, of mechanics, secretaries, engineers, agriculturalists, and other technically-trained persons.[177] Their assignment was to prepare four colonization sites at Harper, a village located near Cape Palmas on the Cavalla River.[178] This was in keeping with the sixth recommendation made by the Liberian Coordinating Committee, the name given to that high-powered group of Liberians who had studied, on behalf of the government, the implementation of the UNIA proposals.

An undertaking of this nature and dimension required considerable capital outlay as well as large amounts of operating funds. In anticipation of this, the UNIA, as early as 1918, had established an African Redemption Fund. Each person of African descent was to be asked to contribute at least $5.00. This was not to be regarded as "a tax on active members, but ... a voluntary contribution by all Negroes."[179] It is not known how much money was collected as a result of this constitutional provision. One gets the impression, however, that it was not followed with too much vigour until after negotiations with the Liberain government had shown promising signs, and that it was largely ignored.

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[177] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 376.

[178] Ibid., p. 374.

[179] The Constitution, 1918, p. 28.

after the sudden collapse of UNIA plans.[180]

In the fall of 1920, the organization launched a Liberian Construction Loan Drive.[181] As with all such UNIA projects, this campaign was undertaken with due consideration for the general rules of mass psychology. An appropriate circular, evangelistic in tone, was sent to all divisions, with the instructions that it be read "just before" the members were asked to make their donations.[182] This circular and accompanying letter declared that black people had been suffering under a yoke of oppression for more than 300 years, and that there was little evidence to suggest that the situation would improve unless the victims took action on their own behalf. The circular dramatized the message with these words:

> We desire to help ourselves to political Freedom in Africa, and industrial, educational, and Social freedom everywhere. We are working for the Freedom of Africa, even as the Irish work for the Freedom of Ireland, the Jews for the Freedom Palestine, and the Indians for the Freedom of India.[183]

Those who believed that the Negro should have a country of his own and should be given "the chance to develop himself" were asked to contribute generously to the fund. Both donor

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[180] To be taken up later in this chapter.

[181] The Negro World, November 6, 1920.

[182] "Garvey to Montreal UNIA, Nov. 26, 1921," African Redemption Fund File (hereafter ARF File), ACHA Archives.

[183] Ibid.

and canvasser were promised appropriate recognition. The former would receive a "certificate of loyalty and devotion to the Cause of Human Liberty" signed by the leader of the organization, its secretary, and its high chancellor. The name of the donor would also appear in the first issue of the Negro World to be published after his contribution was received. The Parent Body undertook to draw up a "Universal Register" highlighting the names of those people who had helped to swell the coffers of the fund. This honour roll was to be "circulated over the world so that succeeding generations [would] know those who [had] contributed to the cause of human liberty."[184] Garvey and his UNIA certainly left little to chance, particularly when it was a question of raising funds. On reading those documents, one is almost left with the impression that heaven would be the final reward for those who had donated their money. As for the fund-raisers, anyone who collected contributions from more than 50 persons was promised The Bronze Cross of African Redemption.[185]

This campaign was stepped up in 1924, as the organization was on the verge of actually sending its first group of settlers to Liberia. In June of that year, the UNIA took out advertisements in the New York World with the headline, in bold

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[184] ARF Circular, ARF File. See, also, "Henrietta V. Davis, International Organizer, to Montreal UNIA, Dec. 4, 1921," ARF File.

[185] ARF Circular. Note that the constitution had provided for public recognition of donors to the African Redemption Fund.

print, declaring "COLONIZATION OF AFRICA BY NEGROES AS SOLUTION OF A RACE PROBLEM."[186] The sum of $2,000,000 was considered necessary for building and establishing the first colony. Although this campaign played on the emotion of pride in race, it directed its appeal to a wider population, including people who were not of African descent or members of the UNIA.[187]

In an attempt to disarm some of its North American critics, the organization went out of its way to praise the pioneering efforts of those who had established and had contributed to the development of Liberia. Consistent with this objective, Liberia was described as "the most serious attempt of the race to help itself." The UNIA even softened, somewhat, its language on the subject of "Africa for Africans at home and abroad," emphasizing that the proposed Liberian colonies would serve as "Peaceful Homes for Negroes - Similar to Homeland in Palestine for Jews."[188]

The UNIA received a real shock and traumatic blow just at the point when its emotional and physical preparation for its bold colonization venture was reaching its peak. It was informed that its "experts and engineers", who had formed the advanced party to receive the settlers expected to follow them,

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[186] Reproduced in A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, pp. 380-384.

[187] Ibid., p. 382.

[188] Ibid., p. 380.

were arrested by the Liberian authorities on their arrival in that country.[189] This dramatic but disappointing turn of events occurred on the specific instructions of the country's president, C.B.D. King, who also ordered the confiscation of the cargo brought into Liberia by the UNIA delegation. According to Garvey, it consisted of machinery, equipment, medical and related supplies, and miscellaneous material valued at $50,000. They were later sold by the Liberian government in order to raise money to pay its officials.[190]

Many hypotheses have been advanced to explain the surprising behaviour of the Liberian authorities. It has been suggested, for example, that the government of Liberia simply developed a feeling of fear and suspicion as the plans of the UNIA were being implemented. This argument suggests that they dreaded the impact which such enthusiastic and apparently well-organized individuals could have on the politics and their control of the country. It has also been argued that the Liberian rulers, somehow, had been clandestinely advised of the contents of the secret report which Elie Garcia had submitted to the top echelons of the UNIA after his 1920 visit. This confidential report was highly critical of Liberia's oligarchy[191] whom Commissioner Garcia, with

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[189] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 379.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Liberia was literally run by a few families of American and West Indian backgrounds.

obvious contempt, labelled "the Americo-Liberians".[192] They were described as "the most despicable element" in that nation, and that their major preoccupation was to obtain some governmental post in order to make money through graft and other corrupt practices. Garcia went on to call the Liberian Family Compact a degenerate and morally weak group who exploited "the natives as slaves," and who were "absolutely hostile to 'immigration' by American or West Indian Negroes."[193]

Another leading hypothesis to explain the behavioural change of the Liberian government towards the UNIA is based on the role that those European powers, with colonies close to Liberia, and the U.S. government may have played. This argument postulates that these metropolitan governments exerted pressure on the weak African state to keep the UNIA out of Africa.[194] A rather cynical, but possibly true, explanation has suggested that the Liberians knew, from the beginning, that they had no intention of allowing the UNIA to establish colonies on their soil. They had decided, however, to play along with the Garveyites in order to get whatever those proven effective fund-raisers had to offer their bankrupt country.[195] Finally, in trying to understand this volte-face, it must be remembered that, shortly after it had

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[192] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 399.

[193] Ibid., pp. 399-400.

[194] Weisbord, Op. Cit., supports this view.

[195] Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 129-132.

repudiated the colonization scheme of the UNIA, the Liberian government granted most favourable leases of considerable land to the Firestone Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio. Included in the leased territories were lands which had been promised to the UNIA.[196]

From early in its existence, the Montreal Division had endorsed the philosophical concept that Africa was "the legitimate, moral and righteous home" of black people everywhere. An undated memorandum, written when the UNIA's address was 308 Aqueduct Street,[197] emphasized this point. In it, the Montreal executive argued, inter alia, that it was up to black people to bring about "the Second Emancipation, [that is] the Great African Redemption." It was only in the Motherland that they would be in a position to " establish a Government of Negroes, by Negroes and for Negroes" which would be in a position to "make representations, and exact penalties whenever a Negro's rights have been abridged."[198] This was a sine qua non, if people of African descent were to solve the many problems with which they were confronted.[199] Interviews with veteran members of the association left one with the impression that there was general support for the principle of an African homeland. Mr. Charles Ashby, who

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[196] Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 129-132.

[197] This address places the date as 1920.

[198] Undated Memorandum, Philosophy File, ACHA Archives.

[199] Ibid.

died at the age of 84 in August, 1977, probably spoke for a majority when he declared that "we were all heading back to Africa in ships owned by ourselves."[200]

The available records suggest, however, that enthusiasm for the principle was not translated into action necessary for its implementation. Copies of financial reports sent to the Parent Body showed no entries in the column set aside for donations to the African Redemption Fund.[201] The same is true of the various books which recorded the financial transactions of the organization. Added to the above is the apparent fact that no Montrealer received the Bronze Cross of African Redemption which was created as a fitting reward for those persons who had collected donations from fifty individuals.

The only exception encountered among the documents was in the person of Sidney S. Simmons who had joined the division in 1920. Simmons was also an offiter and active participant in the Literary Club.[202] In correspondence with Montreal, the Parent Body acknowledged receipt of Simmons' five-dollar contribution to the African Redemption Fund, and assured the division that he would receive his "certificate of race loyalty" without delay. The Parent Body also pledged to have his name published in the

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[200] Interview notes.

[201] Monthly Reports and Statements Files, ACHA Archives.

[202] Membership Book 1, p. 273. His activity in the Literary Club will be taken up in the next chapter.

next issue of the Negro World among the other generous contributors to the fund.[203]

In trying to understand this apparent lack of financial support for this project, several factors must be taken into consideration. The membership was already called upon to part with its rather scarce money for the regular fees, monthly dues, death tax, and convention assessments, to name the most obvious demands on their purse strings. In addition, there were many special appeals for money such as the Marcus Garvey Defence Fund, the Marcus Garvey Vacation Fund, as well as the Marcus Garvey Appeal and Defence Fund.[204] The disappearance of almost all of the $725,000 collected for the Black Star Line, the shipping company of the organization, and a similar financial scandal involving the association's Death Benefit Fund, could hardly be expected to inspire people to make further contributions. When the failure of the UNIA to establish itself in Africa became known, what little desire was left to part with one's money for yet another scheme must have vanished from the minds of Montrealers.

This ideal of an independent African nation for black people, coupled with a return of Blacks to the Motherland, in

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[203] "Garvey to Montreal Division, March 16, 1922," ARF File.

[204] See files bearing those titles in the ACHA Archives. For Garvey's arrest, trial, sentence, and appeal, see Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 113-118 and A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, Part 2.

spite of the lack of real financial support, remained, nevertheless, for a very long time, with veteran members of the division. As late as 1949, for example, Charles Dyall, one of the original members whose membership certificate bears the date of March 31, 1919, wrote his old friend, E.J. Tucker, from Detroit, Michigan. Dyall had left Montreal during the 1929-1939 depression and was living in that American city. In discussing the political campaign of an American Black named Hill for a seat on the municipal council of Detroit, Dyall declared that the candidate would be better advised to help the "UNIA to build our own Cities in the Motherland." In Dyall's view, this would afford the candidate every opportunity "to become Councilman, Mayor or [to occupy] any other official position he might be qualified to fill."[205] Dyall's views certainly mirrored those of the majority of the Montreal membership.

As a result of this feeling, one could reasonably expect to hear of a back-to-Africa movement of some importance among the Garveyites of this city. This, however, did not take place.[206] On the contrary, as far as can be ascertained at this point, only one member, Dr. Samuel I.T. Wills, ever succeeded in re-

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[205] "Dyall to Tucker, Sept. 16, 1949," Charles Dyall File, ACHA Archives.

[206] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, back-to-Africa movements developed in Nova Scotia and what is now Ontario. See Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 61-94, and Bertley, Canada and Its People of African Descent, pp. 219-224.

turning to the Motherland. His experience in attempting to implement this plan throws considerable light on some of the problems which an individual had to encounter in this regard. This, in turn, helps to explain why there was no movement of black people from Montreal to Africa.

As was mentioned above, Dr. Wills had chosen Nigeria which, at that time, was a part of the British West African Empire. As a result, he had to obtain the permission of the British government to enter that colony. This proved to be more difficult than was expected as Dr. Wills was subjected to considerable cross examination which bordered on harrassment. He was also confronted with seemingly endless red tape in the form of interminable documents which he was required to complete. Once permission was obtained, he had the problem of finding a ship that would take him to Nigeria. In those days, it was almost impossible to do so unless one embarked at the port of London. When he tried to book his passage, he was constantly told to return another day as there was no space available. In addition, he was questioned frequently and searchingly as to his reasons for wanting to go to the British colony.[207]

His problems did not end when he finally set foot on Nigerian soil. Officials in the colony informed him that he could not practise medicine in the hospitals or as a govern-

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[207] Interview notes. Obtained from interview with Samuel Wills, Jr., eldest son of Dr. Wills.

mental medical officer.[208] Undaunted by such setbacks, Dr. Wills established his own clinics for the Nigerian people, just as he had done previously at the Indian Reservation of Caughnawaga located a few miles southwest of Montreal. The training which he had undergone in his native Guyana to become a qualified druggist proved invaluable to his medical practice in a Nigeria that was woefully short of all such professionals. It is not known how long he lived in that British colony, but he did leave it to return to British Guiana. His principal reason for leaving was the poor educational facilities which were provided for the black people of Nigeria.[209]

The determination of the colonial powers to prevent UNIA Blacks and other nationalists whom they considered dangerous from entering Africa is only one of the reasons why so few people of African descent ever returned to the Motherland.[210] Other factors contributing to this include distance, financial cost, and a feeling of attachment for and patriotism towards the

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[208] British colonial governments did not recognize doctors who had their training in American universities, Such persons, however, were free to set up private practices.

[209] Interview with Samuel Wills, Jr. Using the approximate age of his children, Dr. Wills must have gone to Nigeria in the late 1920's or very early 1930's.

[210] Ida Greaves, The Negro in Canada, Orilla, Ont., Packet-Times Press, 1930; H. Tulloch, Black Canadians A Long Line of Fighters, Toronto, NC Press, 1975, pp. 82-90; James Walker, The Black Loyalists, New York, Longmans, 1976, pp. 115-145; and E.G. Wilson, The Loyal Blacks, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1976, pp. 217-236. also deal with back-to-Africa Canadian movements.

country in which they were born and, in most cases, in which they still lived.

With respect to the financial cost, it goes without saying that the distance involved and other factors inherent in a move of that magnitude would involve large sums of money. There were not and still are not many Blacks who could afford the sums involved. In spite of this, it was the psychological cost which proved, perhaps, to be the biggest barrier. Leaving behind family, friends, as well as a familiar environment to which, for all its faults and difficulties, one had become accustomed was not a prospect that one could contemplate with equanimity. It must never be forgotten that Africans, who came to the New World, were, just like the other immigrants, converted into New World citizens. Garvey never seemed to have understood this, and he paid dearly for it.

Adding to this attachment to the New World and, perhaps, assisting it, was the negative attitude towards Africa, as well as towards people of African descent, which New World Blacks had developed. This was largely a result of their exposure to western communications media and educational systems which, for the most part, seemed to be waging a campaign to present the Motherland and its people in the worst possible way. The distorted picture which emerged were internalized not only by Whites but Blacks as well. Thus Africa was nicknamed "monkey-land" by its own descendants, many of whom made it quite clear that they had

no desire to live there.[211] They would rather remain, as the U.S. Negro doggerel explained, "right here with Uncle Sam."[212] As has already been observed in the case of Blacks born in Africa and the Caribbean, the American Negro was not the only person of African descent to harbour such feelings about Africa. The Canadian Negro, in many instances, shared that attitude.

Another aspect of the psychological factor was the knowledge that black people had contributed significantly in building up the New World to the point where some countries located in it enjoyed a standard of living which was among the highest in the world. Many consistently argued that they had no desire to bequeath the fruits of their labour to other people in exchange for what, at best, could be considered an uncertain future in a land foreign to them. It is very difficult to argue against this point which always seems to emerge whenever "repatriation" of Blacks is discussed.[213]

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[211] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 73. See, also, A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 213; as well as a speech made by Garvey on June 26, 1926, which is reprinted in the August-Sept., 1970, issue of Garvey's Voice.

[212] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 75. The Caribbean territories were also regarded in a negative sense, the land of the "monkey-chasers".

[213] This attitude was expressed in Canada in 1792, 1815, and in the 1840's by those who opposed the "repatriation" of Blacks at that time. It also arose in th U.S.A. when plans for organizing Liberia were being developed. Interviews with veteran UNIA members indicate that it existed during the heyday of Garveyism in Montreal. In his thesis, The Negro In Canada, Dr. Daniel Hill also noted the phenomenon.

One additional factor, which is closely related to the above, needs to be considered. It involves the sensitive areas of loyalty, patriotism, and subversion. Some opponents of the UNIA, either through misunderstanding or for other reasons, often labelled proponents of the back-to-Africa philosophy as disloyal, unpatriotic, and even traitorous. At one point, the Montreal Division felt the necessity to rebut such charges by issuing a statement. The executive described such accusation as "malicious propaganda" on the part of individuals who, for reasons of their own, did not "embrace the programme" of the organization and were trying to besmirch its reputation. The statement categorically denied that the UNIA harboured any such ideas, and stressed the point that one of its "cardinal principles" was "loyalty to established governments."[214]

The Montrealers should have taken some comfort from the fact that the Parent Body was faced with the same type of accusation. Garvey frequently remarked that the nation-building philosophy of the association was "misrepresented by men from within our own race, as well as others from without."[215] In refuting any suggestion that the UNIA was bent on destroying established governments, Garvey went on to make the following

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[214] Undated memorandum, Philosophy File. At the time the UNIA's address was 308 Aqueduct Street. This means that the date must have been in July, 1919.

[215] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 98.

statement:

> We are not seeking ... to destroy or disrupt the society or the government of other races, but we are determined that 400,000,000 of us shall unite ourselves to free our motherland from the grasp of the invader. ... The UNIA ... is determined to bring Negroes together for the building up of a nation of their own.[216]

Apparently, it did not occur to Garvey, at least as far as this statement indicates, that the colonial powers could have interpreted his attempt to free Africa "from the grasp of the invader" as tantamount to plotting the overthrow of what they considered their legitimate authority. It certainly appeared this way to black critics of the organization as well as to the colonial powers who controlled Africa and other areas at that time.[217]

The philosophical principle of self-reliance is at the centre of the teachings of the UNIA. The organization believed that a race of people could not reasonably expect another to take the lead in elevating or truly emancipating them. It was up to the oppressed group to take the lead and show the way. It was only then, perhaps, that they would receive the attention of other people of goodwill. In articulating this position, Garvey explained to his followers: "If you want Liberty, you

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[216] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 98. Note that Garvey often used the 400,000,000 figure to represent what he considered to be the total black population of the world. It is not an accurate statistical account.

[217] See Weisbord, Op. Cit.

yourselves must strike the blow. If you must be free, you must become so through your own effort, through your own initiative."[218] He went on to state that the British and American governments gave only partial freedom to their former slaves who must now lift themselves to the standard of freedom now enjoyed by their former masters.[219]

The UNIA was almost impatient with Blacks who did not show a high degree of self-confidence and self-reliance. It tried to impress upon people of African extraction that they must become masters of their own destiny and of their own fate. "If there is anything you want in this world, it is for you to strike out with confidence and faith in self and reach for it."[220] Blacks were urged to lift themselves up and remove themselves "out of the mire." They must be prepared to "carve out" their own pathway "in the course of life."[221] The Negro must "do things for himself and by himself."[222]

There is little doubt that Garvey and the UNIA strongly believed in the doctrine of personal accountability both as it applied to individuals and to groups. There was no room for the

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[218] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. I, p. 94.

[219] Ibid., p. 95.

[220] Ibid., p. 91.

[221] Ibid., p. 78.

[222] Ibid., p. 56.

type of rationalization which tended to place all the problems faced by Blacks at the doorsteps of others. While the organization recognized that Blacks had been abused by others and was quick to make this clear, it still believed that it was up to people of African descent to bring about the changes in their life which they seemed to have desired. Its position was similar to that of Cassius when he told Brutus that :

> Men at sometime are masters of their fates:
> The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves, that we are underlings.[223]

It was this philosophical conviction which allowed Garvey, in the face of the biggest disappointments such as when the Liberian government suddenly, and without explanation, cancelled its agrement with the UNIA, to put the blame where it properly belonged with the comment: "Again the Negro has defeated himself..." As if to point out to people that this philosophy of personal accountability did not signify any belief that the case of the Blacks was hopeless, Garvey added that their spirit was not dead.[224]

The teachings of Booker T. Washington may have played an important role in the adoption of this philosophy of self-reliance by Marcus Garvey and his making it a cornerstone of his organization's belief. The Sage of Tuskegee had emphasized,

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[223] William Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Act. I, Scene II, Lines 138 to 140.

[224] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 385.

among other things, that Blacks must raise themselves up by their bootstraps. He did not minimize the importance of assistance from other groups, but he felt that the major thrust must come from Blacks themselves. While Booker T. Washington had stressed the "industrial development" of the Negro, Garvey and the UNIA added other dimensions such as political, social, and economic advancement for people of African descent. It should also be observed, perhaps, that Washington's emphasis on the self-reliance of Blacks was not meant to be restricted to the physical sphere.[225]

The Montreal Division, as in the case of the other major UNIA philosophical tenets, took this one very seriously and tried its best to implement it. As was seen in the second chapter, the division, soon after its establishment, organized a building fund to raise money for the purpose of purchasing its own property. The achievement of that goal represents, without question, the best illustration of the association's desire to be self-reliant. It was with pride that the members declared that they were able to undertake this project without "Alien Financial Backing or Control."[226] Even when it was sol-

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[225]Critics of Booker T. Washington, especially Dr. W. E.B. DuBois, felt that Washington's overemphasis on "industrial" development tended to exclude other types. See, for example, DuBois' The Souls of Black Folks, Greenwich, Conn., Fawcett Publications, 1961, pp. 42-54.

[226]May, 1929, circular, HF 1.

iciting "alien" assistance for its programmes, the division stressed that it was doing so in order to help "our people to become worthwhile, self supporting and respectable citizens."[227] This concept of self-reliance was never far from the minds of this UNIA unit.

The success of the organization in implementing this philosophical ideal can best be described as mixed. In finally owning its own property, the division most successfully converted philosophy into reality. Other attempts were only partially successful. Examples include the establishment of a "Sick and Charitable Fund" for the purpose of "assisting distressed members or needy individuals of the race,"[228] as well as attempts to establish business and commercial ventures.

In the case of the Sick and Charitable Fund, the division did, at the beginning of its existence, come to the aid of a few Blacks in distress. The fund lasted from 1920 to 1930 during which time only $228.25 seemed to have been collected for the purpose. When it went out of existence in June, 1930, there was a balance of $1.25.[229] With such limited resources, it is not suprising that the records reveal only a few cases where people received assistance of this nature. Such help as was given took the form

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[227] "UNIA to Grover Knitting Mills Ltd., June 7, 1937," Philosophy File. The division was seeking assistance in order to start handicraft and industrial arts classes.

[228] The constitution, 1919, p. 45.

[229] Ledger 5, pp. 80-82.

of loans in many instances.[230] Some cases, however, were in no position to repay the money, so that it had to be withdrawn from the treasury of the organization.[231]

Several reasons can be advanced to account for the limited operation of this fund. In the first place, the financial position of the membership was such that there was hardly extra money available to swell the fund. In addition to this, there were other black organizations such as the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows and the Elks which were largely benevolent societies and, therefore, better able to handle this type of function. There was considerable cross-membership between the UNIA and these fraternal and benevolent societies. Those members, who had contributed to the Death Benefit Fund, and had seen their money misused, would naturally have been reluctant to participate in any other such undertaking. When the Great Depression fell on the black community, the Sick and Charitable Fund collapsed completely, as there was even less money available to the members of the division.

While this attempt at self-reliance can be described as partially successful, efforts aimed at establishing business and commercial ventures can only be categorized as complete

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[230] "Elder E. Walton to UNIA, July 14, 1921," Sick and Charitable Fund (hereafter S and C) File, ACHA Archives.

[231] "E. Vaughan to Treasurer I. Sealy, Feb. 9, 1920," and "Sidney M. Simons to UNIA, [no date]," Ibid.

failures. Throughout the years, the division has tried to set up various business enterprises such as grocery stores, furniture shops, and restaurants in appropriate space to be found in its property. In each case, after much planning, the attempts came to naught. In trying to account for this singular lack of success, Mr. Tucker, who has been one of the prime movers behind the proposed business ventures, stressed the apparent lack of confidence which the black individual seemed to have in his business acumen. This manifested itself in his fear to take risks, and in his belief that his own people would not patronize him. These were some of the reasons that were advanced by people who, it was felt, would have taken the lead in establishing these businesses.[232]

An important reason for the failure seemed to have been a lack of sufficient capital to get these enterprises underway and keep them going during their difficult initial periods. Added to this was the absence of business expertise and experience among the black people of the city, as well as a lack of any real business tradition among them.[233] In this connection, it is instructive to note that a lady of French-Canadian extraction has been operating a restaurant in the UNIA property for more than 25 years. In addition, there has been a corner grocery

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[232] Interviews with Messers Tucker, Langdon, and Marshalleck.

[233] There have been small service-type businesses run by black people for black clientele in the city.

store in another section of the property for almost as long. At the time of writing, it is run by a family which came from Korea less than five years ago. According to Messers Tucker and Langdon, several black individuals were approached to carry on similar businesses in the same premises, but they were not interested since, according to them, there was no money to be made in such enterprises.

In concluding this chapter on the philosophy of the organization, it can be said that the Montreal Division was in agreement with the main tenets and tried to implement them wherever possible. Implementation turned out to be very difficult in most cases and impossible in some because of the very nature of the philosophical ideas and the condition in which the division found itself. In cases where expression of the ideal was the best which the division was capable of doing, this was carried out with considerable force. The example of the Sharpeville Massacre comes quickly to mind. The group did have some success in helping to prod the Canadian government in taking action, however limited, against the South African government. In the case of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the division was unable to do all that it wished, but was still effective in that it sent some financial help to the beleaguered country, while, at the same time, serving in a quasi-diplomatic capacity.

This situation, in fact, seems to summarize the major efforts of the organization. It enunciated very important principles which it intended to carry out. On careful consideration,

however, it became evident that the association lacked the means to implement them. The question of an international confraternity of people of African descent is certainly desirable from the black nationalist point of view; but, how is this to be achieved? Factors militating against its implementation, and these include socialising and acculturation forces, are very strong. The simple fact is that people of African descent have developed singificantly different ideologies, points of view, and other ways of viewing themselves and their world. This is hardly conducive to a feeling of oneness among the scattered members of the race, at least not to the vast majority. As the UNIA, much to its chagrin, found out, many Blacks continued to see themselves as West Indians, Americans, Canadians, and, even, Nova Scotians, rather than as members of the hypothetical supranational state that it was advocating.

As objectives, the philosophical tenets were indeed worthy of thought and of conversion into action. The problem was their implementation. The Montreal Division, just like the Parent Body, found it much easier to preach than to put into practice those ideals which it held dear and considered of the greatest significance.

CHAPTER V

ACTIVITIES AND AUXILIARIES

In the previous chapter mention was made of some of the activities carried out by the Montreal Division as its members tried to put into practice the principles in which they believed. In this chapter the activities of the organization would be considered in themselves because they help to throw considerable light on the nature and purpose of the division. In addition, some of the auxiliaries, which were established by the association partly as vehicles through which its activities would be carried out, would be given a prominent place in this section of the thesis.

The major activities conducted by the association can be classified under the following headings: organization and promotion, education, and social and recreation. There was considerable interrelationship and overlapping in the execution of these activites, so that this classification must not be considered as an airtight and mutually exclusive system. Rather, it is one of convenience which helps to put some order and shape to the discussion. It must also be pointed out, in this introductory section, that the UNIA frequently worked alone to achieve these goals; but, wherever possible and necessary, it was ready to cooperate with other groups and individuals as

long as this helped the cause.

Convening regular meetings was the most important activity of the division because it was during these sessions that organization, administration and promotion of its affairs were discussed and planned. To ensure that these matters were regularly and properly attended to, the constitution made it obligatory for every unit of the UNIA to hold a general meeting at least once per week. Even the day (Sunday) and the time (from 3.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.) were specified. The constitution also provided for additional meetings to be held during the week, but these were to be convened in the evenings.[1] The week-day meetings gave the opportunity for those who missed the Sunday session, for whatever reason, to participate in this aspect of the division's activities.

Any division with a membership exceeding 500 was required to hold a general meeting every fortnight in addition to the weekly Sunday session.[2] In order to ensure that the executive officers attended meetings regularly and provided the required leadership to the division, the constitution incorporated penalties for delinquency. A person, for example, who missed two consecutive meetings without first obtaining "leave of absence" was "automatically" removed from office and replaced "forthwith".

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[1] Article III, Sections 49 and 50, pp. 45 and 46.

[2] Section 49. This clause was later amended to read "All Divisions" regardless of membership size.

by means of a by-election.[3]

The minute books of the division, which have been located, cover the periods from January, 1926, to February, 1941, and from April, 1943, to December, 1962. In addition to these books, loose sheets of recorded minutes of some general and executive meetings have also been located. It is regrettable, however, that there are no minutes available of the meetings held between 1919 and 1926, a period when the organization was at its peak. In the case of the post-1962 time span, the scanty available written records reflect the relative inactivity of the division which held only those meetings that were absolutely necessary for its survival.

From speaking to veteran members of the association, one can conclude that meetings were held, on the average, twice per week between 1919 and the end of 1925.[4] One is left with the impression, in fact, that this was the period when the members met with the greatest frequency. Between 1926 and 1940, regular business meetings were held twice per month. One of the items which attract attention, as one reads the minutes, was the lateness of these meetings. It was not unusual for some to begin as late as 9.15 p.m. and to continue until midnight.[5]

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[3]The constitution, Art. III, Sect. 50, p. 48.

[4]Other sources to suggest this include the Ledgers which recorded the rents paid for use of various halls.

[5]MB 1, pp. 33, 35, and 72, furnish some examples.

The members also met every Sunday afternoon for what was popularly known as the Sunday Mass Meeting.(hereafter abbreviated as SMM). With the outbreak of the Second World War and the decline in importance of the division, which was compounded by the death of its founder and President General in 1940, the weekday monthly meeting was the only one to be held on a regular basis, with an occasional SMM whenever there was a special reason to call one. The executive officers and various committees met from time to time, in accordance with the demands of a particular situation.

The normal business of the division was planned, discussed, and evaluated at the regular meetings. The SMM, however, served an altogether different purpose. It was utilized for the education and entertainment of members and friends, and for staging special programmes. It also served to attract prospective members into the organization as well as to boost the morale of the faithful.

The meetings were conducted in accordance with the forms and rituals laid down for the organization as a whole. The programme began with the singing of an opening hymn such as "Shine On, Eternal Light", and this was followed by one of the UNIA anthems such as "From Greenland's Icy Mountains". An invocation prayer and the reading of a suitable text by the chaplain, or, in his absence, a senior officer followed at this point. The address of the President was the next item on the agenda, and this was a most important event. He usually began by highlighting

the aims and objectives of the organization and followed this by reading the Message from the President General. This was a regular front-page feature of the Negro World, and it served as a starting point for many presidential addresses during the SMM. Announcements were then made, and these were followed by appeals for financial and other support for the division. A collection was taken up, after which the meeting closed with the singing of "God Bless Our President","O Africa Awake", and the "Universal Ethiopian Anthem", the national anthem of the UNIA. In later years, the UNIA Pledge was recited before the closing of the meeting.[6] If new members were to be inducted, the ceremony was carried out at an appropriate moment during the SMM.

An essential part of the SMM programme was devoted to entertainment. This usually took the form of vocal or instrumental performances by individuals or groups, either local or foreign, members and non-members. They were worked into the programme in such as way as to prevent the meeting, with its many prayers, reports, and announcements, from becoming tedious. There can be little doubt that the entertainment part of the SMM went a long way in attracting people to Liberty Hall. This was one of the few public places in Montreal where black people could have gone to be entertained without the fear of encountering some form of racial discrimination, however subtle or crude.

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[6]The words of all these songs and the pledge can be found in the appendix.

A notable feature of UNIA meetings, whether specially-convened, or SMM, was the presence of guest speakers whenever this was possible. Marcus Garvey, himself, in addition to the early visit mentioned by Israel, paid several more calls to Montreal where he addressed the black community from Liberty Hall and other auditoriums in the city. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister and President of Ghana,[7] was, perhaps, the second most distinguished visitor to grace the lecture podium at Liberty Hall. Dr. Nkrumah was on a visit to Montreal and Canada, during his first few months as head of his country. He was invited by Mr. Henry Langdon who, together with the Ghanaian students in the city, made the necessary arrangements.[8]

Other notable personalities to speak at Liberty Hall included G.O. Marke, Vernal Williams, Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, Madame M.L.T. De Mena, and Dr. J. Avarez Manusama. Messers Richard Tobitt and William Ferris were also among the list of foreign dignitaries to speak at Liberty Hall; nevertheless, they will be discussed later in the chapter when the Literary Club, which invited them, is considered.

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[7]The former British West African colony, the Gold Coast, as it was called, was led to independence by Dr. Nkrumah in 1957. The name was changed to Ghana to symbolize the rebirth of African nationhood as existed in that medieval West African Empire of the same name.

[8]He was at Liberty Hall on July 19, 1958. See invitation, and the address given by Mr. Langdon, and Montreal Star, July 18, clipping in Ghana File, ACHA Archives. Also, interview notes with Mrs. Elaine Pierre, then secretary of the division.

G.O. Marke was a native of Sierra Leone, West Africa. He was educated at Oxford University, England, and was chosen to be the Deputy Potentate of the UNIA at its first international convention in 1920. Marke visited the city in October of that same year[9] and, again, in 1926.[10] Vernal Williams was born in Jamaica, but resided in the U.S.A. where he practised law. A signatory of the 1920 Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, Williams was Garvey's candidate for the post of Assistant President General of the organization.[11] He was defeated in the elections, and had to settle for the lesser post of Assistant Counsel General.[12] Mrs. Amy Jacques, the second and better-known wife of Marcus Garvey, needs no further introduction. The dynamic and charismatic Madame De Mena was born in Nicaragua, but was a resident of the U.S.A. As International Organizer of the UNIA, she spoke in Montreal on more than one occasion. During the parade which opened the 1929 convention in Kingston, Jamaica, this dedicated Garveyite was in the lead "mounted on a great white charger with drawn sword."[13] Veteran members, who witnessed the spectacle, vividly recall the per-

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[9] "Montreal Division to G. Marke, Sept. 28, 1920," "Marke to Montreal Div., Sept. 30, 1920, and Oct. 12, 1920," HF 2.

[10] MB 1, p. 5.

[11] T. Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 120.

[12] Ibid., p. 270. Williams came to Montreal in 1921.

[13] L. Nembhard, Op. Cit., p. 132.

formance and fondly cherish its memory.[14]

Dr. J. Avarez Manusama was an unusual visitor to Liberty Hall. Unlike the majority of his counterparts, he had no association with the UNIA, but was one of the Holland-based leaders of the South Moluccans. This group of people had collaborated with the Dutch during their colonial occupation of the East Indies and, therefore, had to leave the area when those colonies won their independence from Holland. This would tend to make him an unlikely and unwelcome guest in UNIA circles, but he spoke on the necessity for weak and struggling peoples to unite if they were to bring about their freedom and independence.[15] Such a topic is close to the hearts and minds of Garveyites, and the doctor's remarks were well received. He was told that the UNIA was depending on people like him to assist it in achieving its goal of self-determination for black people everywhere.[16]

The division also made use of local talent, black or white, to address its SMM. Among the former were Mc Gill Professor and world-renowned pharmacologist, Dr. K.I. Melville,

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[14] Veterans like Lucille Patterson, a native of Jamaica, related the incident to the author in 1978 at the UNIA convention of that year. A Black Cross Nurse, Miss Patterson is still completely loyal to the UNIA. Her uncle, Adrien Daly, was one of the founding members of the UNIA.

[15] "Dr. Manusama to Montreal UNIA, April 6, 1959," SMM File 2, ACHA Archives. Interviews with Messers Tucker and Langdon.

[16] "Montreal UNIA to Dr. Manusama no date , SMM File 2. In speaking to Mr. Tucker and Mr. Langdon, the date seems to have been the summer of 1959.

Mr. Roy States, army veteran whose knowledge of and interest in Black History are considerable, and Rev. Charles Este, pastor of Union Church and chaplain of the division. Among white guest lecturers were Rev. John McNabb and Mr. H.G. Hatcher, a former superintendent of schools and a "devoted member" of the Montreal branch of the United Nations Organization.[17] The subject matter for these lectures included the "Negro Question", "Disunity among Blacks", "Think and Grow Rich", "How to Live in One World", "Credit Unionism", "Black History" and "Black Power".[18] From interviews with veterans, one is left with the impression that interest in these lectures was rather keen.

The discussion of the SMM revealed that there was an educational aspect to these sessions. The division did not allow its concern for education to be expressed only in such an incidental fashion. It made direct attempts to supplement the education which people of African descent were receiving in the schools of the city. It also ventured into what, in today's jargon, is referred to as "Continuing Education". The UNIA tried to organize a system of granting scholarships and of making other forms of assistance to students both inside and outside of Canada, especially the latter group.

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[17] "Henry J. Langdon, Chairman UNIA Programs Committee to the general public, March 1, 1959," SMM File 1. See other notices and letters in that file.

[18] See items in Ibid., and in SMM File. The reader will note Dr. Manusama's topic.

The earliest available records of the attempt of the division to establish formal classes for Blacks date back to April, 1923, when Clara L. De Shield sought money in order to purchase books and supplies for her juvenile classes.[19] The information concerning this programme is sketchy and unsatisfactory. It is not even known whether Mrs. De Shield's request was granted; but, three months afterwards, she received the sum of $8.75 towards holding a "juvenile picnic."[20] Another extant document about the juvenile classes deals with fund-raising. Subscription lists, authorizing certain individuals, including Mrs. De Shield, to collect money for that educational programme, reveal that $8.60 were collected by July, 1923.[21]

It is not known how many students were served by this educational experiment. One document stated that 240 students attended classes by 1928,[22] but it is very difficult to verify this claim. Questions to veterans interviewed during the course of this study did not reveal any information on this subject. The matter was pursued because the researcher wished to see the extent to which this programme fulfilled the obligations of the organization as laid down in the constitution. Article III,

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[19] April 30, 1923, note, Juveniles File, ACHA Archives.

[20] Ledger 1, p. 95.

[21] Subscription Lists, July 15, 1923, Ibid.

[22] June 1929, Executive Circular, Executive Minutes File.

Section 62, provides that a juvenile branch be established in every division and that "only teachings of Spiritual and Racial uplift be taught them."[23] In view of its over-all record in the matter of racial uplift, one can conclude that the division did not fail to honour that obligation of the constitution. It should be pointed out that Mrs. De Shield was in charge of the juveniles by virtue of another constitutional provision which placed the Lady President in that important role.[24]

In the late 1920's, the division established classes for older people. The students ranged in age from adolescents to middle age. Adding to the variety was the difference in educational attainments of the students at the time of their enrollment in the programme. Some had reached only the lower levels of primary schools, while a few had attained at least the equivalent of a junior high school education. As would be expected, this did not make the task of the teacher, Mr. Earle Swift, an easy one, especially as attendance was not as regular as he would have liked.[25] At a regular meeting of the division, it was reported that the class was "rather weak" and that the teacher felt that he was "wasting valuable time."[26]

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[23] See page 48 of the 1918 constitution.

[24] "Rules and Regulations for Juveniles," Article 1, Section 1, p. 73, 1918 constitution.

[25] Interviews with Mr. Earle Swift.

[26] MB 2, p. 68.

One of the problems which added to an already frustrating situation was the fact that many students were employed at jobs which did not afford them sufficient time and energy to devote to their studies. As a result, the standard of work which Mr. Swift had expected did not materialize. In addition to this, the teacher did not take kindly to criticisms that his fee of $5.00 per month per pupil was exorbitant.[27] Mr. Swift felt that, in terms of the difficulty of his job, the fee was more than reasonable.[28] With the black community reeling under the effects of the great depression, however, it is not difficult to understand how the pupils arrived at their conclusion. As a result of these factors, the size of the class was much smaller than the division had expected and would have liked.[29]

The curriculum followed the traditional pattern, with emphasis on language arts and mathematics. Under the first group were included English grammar and composition, spelling dictation, and reading. French was not part of the curriculum. Those were the days when the two solitudes, the English-speaking and French-speaking communities, were definitely separate and unequal, with the former not feeling any special need to end the physical and psychological separation of the two linguistic

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[27] MB 2, p. 68, and interviews with Mr. Tucker.

[28] Interviews with Mr. Swift.

[29] Interviews with Mr. Tucker. I was not able to get a figure as to the number of students who attended this school.

groups. As the overwhelming majority of UNIA members came from the former British West Indies, English-speaking provinces of Canada, and the U.S.A., the division was part of the Anglophone solitude of the city. Also neglected in this programme was any subject which could be classified as Black Studies, although some history and geography were taught. Rounding out the curriculum were fairly advanced arithmetic and elementary algebra. There was no geometry.[30]

A "Handicraft Guild" for "boys and girls" was also established at about this time. Commercial subjects such as shorthand and typewriting were taught to the girls. The division was particularly proud of its star pupil, Miss Daisy Peterson,[31] sister of world-renowned pianist, Oscar Peterson. One of its advertisements proclaimed that, "in one and a half school years, of one lesson per week," Miss Peterson had obtained the "Pitman Shorthand Theory Certificate."[32]

The trade school section included training in skills such as carpentry, cabinet-making, shoe-making, dressmaking, and knitting. Instructors were volunteers from the black community, mainly members of the UNIA, with the required knowledge

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[30] Interviews with Swift and Tucker. Also student work contained in Education Files (hereafter Ed Files) 1 and 2, ACHA Archives.

[31] Now Mrs. Daisy Sweeney, well-known Montreal music teacher and community worker.

[32] Summer Programme Brochure, p. 6, Ed File 3. "A.M. Bye to P.J. Reddie, June 19, 1939," Ibid.

and experience.[33] Materials and tools were obtained by soliciting local businesses which dealt in the particular item.[34] The project also depended on donations from members of the black community. With the advent of World War II, the "Handicraft Guild" came to an end.

In order to assess the success of this programme, it is necessary to consider the criteria which were used to justify its establishment. An undated letter to the members, seeking support for it, explained that its "management" hoped that it would help to keep the minds of "our boys and girls ... healthy" so that they might be "useful in the community."[35] The author was assured that many black youths were kept off the streets, largely because they were enrolled in this programme. The guild gave them some direction and something constructive to do with their spare time.[36]

As far as improving their employment opportunities was concerned, the new skills, which they may have acquired, did not have any noticeable effect. The men, at least those who were lucky enough to have jobs, continued to work on the railroads, while the working women were still to be found in the homes of

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[33] Interviews with Swift and Tucker.

[34] See letters in Ed. File 11, ACHA Archives.

[35] Ibid. It must be remembered that this was during the Great Depression, with the large-scale unemployment.

[36] Interviews with veterans such as Tucker and Marshalleck.

those Montrealers who could have afforded domestic help. It did appear that Montreal was not yet ready to employ Blacks on a meaningful scale except in those menial jobs. Compounding the problem, of course, were the terrible economic conditions which made jobs extremely scarce for all people and which had been driving the population, in the words of a UNIA document, "to the depth of despair."[37] In addition to the above, one got the impression that the students may not have achieved the standard which would have made them qualified tradesmen because of the apparent limitations of the programme and equipment and, possibly, instructors.[38]

In early 1965, classes were once more organized in Liberty Hall under the auspices of the UNIA. The students were all of high school age and had been attending schools under the control of the Catholic and Protestant School Boards of the city. They attended the UNIA classes, which were held on Saturday mornings, because their school work was lagging far behind that of the average student of their age. The primary purpose of the school, therefore, was remedial.

The secondary purpose, which was closely related to the first, dealt with the question of self-image and self-esteem on

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[37] Undated letter in Ed File 11.

[38] Interviews with the veterans left doubts in my mind that the type of laboratory work and on-the-job training which one associated with a programme of that nature were lacking. I also felt that many instructors lacked the theoretical background.

the part of the students. It was felt that the major reason for the rather poor performance of these pupils in the regular school systems was the fact that they had a very low estimate of themsleves, their community, and their academic ability. Any improvement in their academic performance, it was concluded, would depend on their development of a healthier evaluation of themselves and their racial inheritance. Largely as a result of this, all the teachers were black, highly-qualified professionals with years of experience with school boards in the greater Montreal area and elsewhere.[39] It was considered absolutely essential that these students see and learn from teachers of their own race. This would help them to realize that people of African descent did not necessarily have to drop out of school as soon as they were legally old enough to do so, and then aspire to the low-paying low-esteem service jobs that, from all appearances, were reserved for them.

The curriculum of this programme was strictly academic, closely following that laid down by the Department of Education. Subjects taught included the Language Arts (English and French), Mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, and geometry), Social Studies (history, geography, economics), Natural Science (biology, chemistry, and physics). Even Latin was offered, at the request of

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[39] The teachers were Garvin Jeffers, Oswald Downes, Harold Miller, Ivy Jennings, June Bertley, and Leo Bertley. The last-named individual organized the programme and served as its director. The management of the school comprised the director and E.J. Tucker, H.J. Langdon, and B. Beckford. They represented the UNIA.

only one student. As the enrollment never exceeded 20 pupils and as there were 6 teachers, the pupil-teacher ratio was ideal, allowing for individual attention almost to the point where it became a veritable tutorial system. The result was a dramatic improvement in the performance of the students and a change in their attitude towards teachers and school work.[40] The fact that the teachers received absolutely no financial reward for their services must have contributed to the positive manner in which the pupils viewed them. It certainly impressed the members of the UNIA.

With the noticeable change in the pupils' attitude towards school and education in general and the improvement in their academic record in the regular school system, there can be little doubt that this programme was successful. Most of the students went on to complete their secondary education, with a few following this up by graduating from college and university. The project, nevertheless, was terminated in July, 1967, when the Permits and Inspections Department of Montreal demanded alterations to be made to the premises in keeping with the safety regulations of the city.[41] The UNIA was not in a position to meet these demands at the time, and the school was regrettably closed.[42]

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[40] Students were interviewed before, during, and after the project.

[41] "City of Montreal to UNIA, June 6, 1967, and July 13, 1967," Ed File 3.

[42] "UNIA to City of Montreal, [no date]," Ibid.

No assessment of this programme would be adequate without pointing out that the Da Costa-Hall Remedial Education Project is, in fact, a continuation of this educational experiment. Established in 1970 by essentially the same people who were engaged in the UNIA programme, Da Costa-Hall is still in existence. It was originally intended to help non-achieving black students and dropouts to improve themselves, academically and psychologically, to the point where they would be ready to do successful work in high school or enter college and/or university. In the first year of its existence, the latter group of students formed the majority, and the programme was designed mainly for them.[43]

Assistance given to foreign students constituted a very important part of the UNIA education programme. This help usually took two forms: assistance with immigration procedures and the granting of financial aid in the form of bursaries and scholarships.

The Canadian government has laid down rather strict criteria which must be observed before a foreign student is

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[43]The name "Da Costa-Hall" is derived from that of Matthew Da Costa, a black man who came to Canada with Champlain during the first decade of the 17th century, and that of William Hall, a Nova Scotian of African descent who was the first from his province and the first Canadian-born to win the Victoria Cross. For Da Costa, see pp. xi, xv, 22, 23, and for Hall, see pp. xvii, 66-78 in Bertley, Canada and Its People of African Descent. For further information on the first year of this programme, see Da Costa-Hall Files 1 to 4, ACHA Archives.

allowed to enter this country for the purpose of continuing his education. Among the criteria is evidence that the student is in a financial position to support himself completely during the entire length of his programme. Although the laws apply to all people, regardless of country of origin, it is the suspicion and opinion of some residents of so-called Third World countries that they are applied most stringently against them.[44] Whether this is true or not, the fact that these countries are usually quite economically poor, the financial provision makes for particular hardship in their case. It does not take a great deal of intelligence to see that an American, for example, is more likely to meet that criterion than a student from Ghana, Bengladesh, or Jamaica. When it is borne in mind that the exchange rate of the Canadian dollar is such as to render its equivalent in Third-World countries almost useless, one can readily appreciate the extent of the difficulty created by this financial demand.

Another problem peculiar to countries in those regions stems from the fact that Canadian legations, through which all arrangements must be made, are not nearly as numerous or accessible in those areas as they are in Europe and the U.S.A. In the fiscal year 1978-1979, for example, there were 35 Canadian posts, missions, and offices in Europe and 15 in the U.S. In contrast, th[redacted] were 25 to serve all of Africa and the Middle East, 17 in Asia and the Pacific, and 17 in Latin America

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[44] Interviews with Third-World students and visitors.

and the Caribbean.[45] These figures do not specify the number of immigration offices involved. Freda Hawkins, however, stated that, as of July 31, 1970, there were 26 Canadian immigration offices in Europe, 3 in the U.S.A., 5 in Asia, 3 in the Middle East, and 2 in the Caribbean. There was none in Africa. The countries in that continent were served by the Middle Eastern offices.[46]

Partly as a result of this, the UNIA was called upon by aspiring Third World students to come to their aid. This attests to its reputation among people of African descent throughout the world that it would do its best to assist in the cause of education.

An example of the manner in which the UNIA carried out this function occurred in 1967 when Owen Hodge of San Juan, Trinidad, tried to obtain a student visa to enter Canada. According to Hodge, the Canadian authorities in Trinidad demanded that he pay one-half of the tuition fees, present a bank statement to show that the other half was available, as well as a letter from the UNIA to demonstrate that the organization supported him in his application to study in Canada. These conditions, which, in general, applied to all prospective foreign students,

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[45] Department of External Affairs, Annual Review 1978, Ottawa, p. 141.

[45] Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration Public Policy and Public Concern, Montreal, McGill-Queen's Press, 1972, p. 249.

had to be met before the Canadian High Commission would issue a visa for Hodge to carry out his studies at the Radio College of Canada.[46] The UNIA fulfilled the conditions so that Hodge was able to enter the country.[47]

Similar examples have been found in the case of students from Africa. M.N. Nderitto of Kenya, for example, began seeking the aid of the UNIA in July, 1959. He was accepted by St. Francis Xavier University of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to study the cooperative movement for which that institution is world renowned. He explained that the Canadian immigration authorities would not consider his application for an entrance visa before he received a grant from the UNIA. He said that he needed a minimum of one thousand dollars during his first year in Canada, and he asked the UNIA to grant him "at least half of this sum." Nderitto had become "impatient" when his requests went unanswered because "the immigration authorities ... in Kenya and ... in Canada" were pressing him for proof of his "financial arrangements whilst in Canada."[48] Unfortunately for him, the UNIA was already assisting two other students from Kenya and did not consider itself in a position to take on a third at that time.[49]

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[46] "Owen Hodge to UNIA [no date]," Ed File 6.

[47] "Tucker to Radio College of Canada, May 12, 1967," "Tucker to Hodge, July 24, 1967," Ibid.

[48] "Nderitto to UNIA, June 3, 1960," Ibid. In this letter he referred to his unanswered correspondence with the UNIA.

[49] "Tucker to Nderitto [no date], Ibid.

The two Kenyan students referred to above were Simon M. Gicuhuru and Raphael Njoroge. The former was recommended by a Kenyan compatriot, George Mwicigi who, himself, had been the receipient of financial aid from the UNIA.[50] Gicuhuru entered St. Francis Xavier University in the fall of 1959 to study accountancy. Between that date and 1962, he received financial aid from the UNIA totalling $765.00 distributed as follows: $250.00 in 1959, $275.00 in 1961, and $240.00 in 1962.[51]

Raphael Njoroge also came to Canada in the fall of 1959, but he entered St. Mary's University in Halifax, N.S., to read for a B.A. degree and a diploma in journalism. He, too, was recommended by Mwicigi who, in letters to the UNIA, spoke highly of him.[52] These references proved to be of some substance because the university later described Njoroge as a good student, "a fine young man who was a credit to his country and his race."[53] In addition, that educational institution awarded him an entrance

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[50] See Ed File 9 for correspondence between Mwicigi and the UNIA.

[51] "Tucker to St. Francis-Xavier (hereafter St. F-X) U., Sept. 28, 1959," "St. F-X U. to Tucker Oct. 2, 1959," "Mwicigi to Tucker, Oct. 9, 1959," "Tucker to St. F-X U., Feb. 16, 1961," "Tucker to St. F-X U., Jan. 8, 1962 and Sept. 14, 1962," and "Tucker to Gichuru, Dec. 18, 1962," all in Ed File 8.

[52] "Mwicigi to UNIA, March 27 and October 5, 1959," Ed File 9.

[53] "Registrar of St Mary's U. to UNIA, April 8, 1960," Ed File 10. The registrar may have included the race question because he understood the orientation of the UNIA.

scholarship of $500.00.[54] The Montreal Division supplemented this award with a total of $500.00 which were spread out as follows: $150.00 in 1959, $150.00 in 1960, $150.00 in 1961, and $50.00 in 1962.[55] The organization was impressed by this young Kenyan to the extent that the total grant which he received was $250.00 in excess of its original allocation.[56]

Other students to receive financial assistance from the Montreal Division included George N. Mwicigi, a native Kenyan, who studied for his B.A. degree and diploma in Cooperative Leadership at St. Francis Xavier University,[57] M. Touré from West Africa,[58] Simeon N. Macharia,[59] Leo Essien, a native of Nigeria,[60] Charles N. Wamanaji, who studied at the N.S. Agricultural College in Truro and, also, at Loyola College, Montreal,[61] and Helen Ifezue of Nigeria.[62]

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[54]"St. Mary's U. to Njoroge, May 29, 1959," Ed File 10.

[55]See correspondence between UNIA and St. Mary's U., and between UNIA and Njoroge in Ibid.

[56]"Tucker to Njoroge, April 4, 1960," Ibid. Also interviews with Tucker and Langdon.

[57]"Mwicigi to Tucker, August 30, 1957," Ibid. Mwicigi has been mentioned in another context.

[58]"UNIA to Touré, Sept. 5, 1967," Ed File 12.

[59]"Macharia to UNIA, Oct. 14, 1964," Ibid.

[60]UNIA note dated May 26, 1961, Ibid.

[61]"UNIA to Loyola College, Nov. 5, 1963," "Wamanji to UNIA, Sept. 29 and Oct. 15, 1965," all in Ibid.

[62]"Langdon to Can. Immigration, June 7, 1975," Ibid.

A rather interesting case involved a Canadian-born black student named Rita Falls. She was due to enter her final year of high school in 1960, but her father had died, leaving her mother with "several ... children" and little or no financial resources.[63] It was necessary, therefore, for Miss Falls to receive financial aid, if she were to complete her secondary education, and she appealed to the UNIA for help. The organization approached Mr. E.Y. Templeton, principal of the Chambly County High School, St. Lambert, P.Q., of which Miss Falls was a student. Principal Templeton recommended the young lady quite highly to the division, and it took the decision "to see her through" her graduating year.[64] This represents one of the few cases in which the UNIA made use of this plan to aid students who were already resident in Canada.

This financial assistance programme of the division was instituted at a time when its membership was very small and the organization was a mere shadow of its former self. This was pointed out, again and again, in letters to applicants and other individuals with an interest in the scholarship plan.[65] As a result of this, the division was forced to establish a fund-raising drive, appealing to members of the community for contributions. Groups such as the Red Cap Association of the

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[63] "R. Falls to UNIA, Aug. 24, 1960," Ed File 7.

[64] "Tucker to Templeton, Sept. 3, 1960," Ibid.

[65] "UNIA to St. F-X U., Feb. 16, 1961," Ed File 8 and "UNIA to Njoroge, April 5, 1960," Ed File 10 are two examples.

CPR, Union United Church, The Montreal City and District Savings Bank located close to Liberty Hall and where the division did a considerable part of its financial business, and the various black fraternal and mutual-aid societies such as the Elks, the Prince Hall Masons, and the Odd Fellows, were all approached for donations.[66]

It is natural to wonder, at this point, why the division, with its limited resources, undertook such a serious financial responsibility. The answer to this question must be seem in terms of the philosophy of the UNIA, the manner in which Garveyism seems to take hold of those members who sincerely believed in it, and the period in Black and World History when the programme was instituted.

The system of scholarships and bursaries was launched at the time when, in the words of former British Prime Minister, Sir Harold Macmillan, "the winds of change were blowing over Africa,"[67] heralding, as it were, the imminence of significant constitutional and social changes among the people of that continent. As the native peoples pushed for self-government, to be followed by political independence, it became quite clear that there was an urgent need for them to acquire the education, administrative and allied expertise required to run a modern inde-

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[66] See letters written between 1959 and 1964 to these groups by the UNIA, Ed File 4.

[67] In trying to get South Africa to make changes in its racist system, Macmillan used this analogy in a speech there.

pendent state. The more resourceful and perceptive among the Africans began to look around for ways and means to obtain the necessary knowledge and skills, and came to the inevitable conclusion that they were available only in the more developed nations of the world.[68] It is a clear indication of the international status and reputation of the UNIA that some of these Africans, as it were, discovered it, and came to the correct conclusion that this black nationalist institution would most likely be ready to come to their aid.[69]

The appeal of these students coincided with an important need which the Montreal Division had then begun to develop. With the end of the Second World War, the sudden and dramatic entrance of the nuclear age, and the period of rapid decolonization, the members were in search of meaningful and relevant roles to play. Its traditional functions and undertakings, such as dances, picnics, concerts, and other such activities were now better organized and handled by groups which were more in tune with what the new age demanded in the form of entertainment. Meetings, featuring inspiring nationalistic speeches and messages, somehow, did not have the same appeal to the black population of Montreal

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[68] See, for example, "Njoroge to UNIA, April 13, 1960," Ed File 10, and "Rena and John Karefa-Smart, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, to UNIA, September 4, 1959," Ed File 15.

[69] "George N. Mwicigi to UNIA, August 30, 1957," Ed File 9, "M.N. Nderitto to UNIA, June 3, 1961," and "Joe-Plange, Gold Coast, to UNIA, Dec. 12, 1959," Ed File 6. They did not explain how they got to know about the UNIA.

which was enjoying the economic boom which followed the Second World War. Assisting black students, especially those from the Motherland, was a timely and most welcome role, both in terms of the needs of Africa, and in terms of the psychological need of the division. The members were convinced that this would have been one of the directions which Garvey would have followed, had he lived to see these developments. To them, the scholarship programme was a mere extension of the philosophy of self-reliance.[70]

From the beginning, the UNIA made it clear to the students that their education was being subsidized with the expectation that they would return to their native land on completion of their studies. In this way, they would be able to pass on their knowledge to others while, at the same time, help in the development of their country. Such a message was usually contained in the letter to the candidate which informed him that he was being granted a brusary. C. Wamanti Ndungu of Kenya, who chose to study agriculture at the N.S. Agricultural College in Truro, can serve as an example. On being informed of his award in 1964, he was told that the division expected him to return to his "homeland to work among [his] fellow Africans [and] also to teach [his] less fortunate brothers."[71]

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[70] Interviews with Messers Tucker, Langdon, Beckford, Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Clarke.

[71] "UNIA to Ndungu, November 17, 1964," Ed File 12. The members were well aware of the many West Indian students who studied abroad and remained there instead of returning home.

The UNIA also emphasized to the students that its members were induced to assist them largely because of the over-all philosophy of the organization. Mr. Langdon, for example, pointed this out in a letter to B.O. Ifezue, who had plans to study at Loyola College, Montreal. He wrote that the division "was dedicated towards the betterment of our people at home and abroad." It was the "duty" of the UNIA, Mr. Langdon went on to explain, "to carry out the aims and objects of ...the Hon. Marcus Garvey" which, under present circumstances, were advanced by the scholarship programme. By providing Africans with the opportunity to acquire technical and administrative skills, "the development of the Motherland" would be guaranteed. The result, in the final analysis, would be "the ultimate and complete liberation of our people" everywhere.[72] These sentiments were in keeping with those which Mr. Tucker had expressed in an earlier letter. He wrote that helping African students constituted an important means whereby "sons and daughters of African blood" who were not ashamed of their "noble heritage", could contribute to the development and freedom of the Motherland.[73]

If one were to judge from their replies, one would be convinced that the students had understood and believed in what

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[72] "Langdon to B.O. Ifezue, July 19, 1974," Ed File 12.

[73] "Tucker to Karefa-Smart, November 6, 1959," Ed File 15. Both Tucker and Langdon pointed out to the author that they also saw the scholarship programme as a means of starting viable UNIA units in those parts of Africa. This did not materialize.

the UNIA was trying to accomplish by means of this scholarship programme. Njoroge's comments were typical of the kind which were made by other students. He wrote the division observing that it had contributed "to the education of the African continent" through its scholarship programme. He continued, "I am glad to say that you are already participants in the African march towards the establishment of the New Africa."[74]

George Mwicigi had earlier expressed similar sentiments when he praised "the great devotion" which the UNIA had displayed towards the Motherland and its peoples. He stressed that such support was indispensable if Africans were to stand on their own feet. Mwicigi added a highly significant point, which was really central to UNIA philosophy and activities, when he declared that black people, who did not reside in Africa, in years to come, "may need us as much." He went on to endorse Garvey's highly-cherished belief that, "other than geographical differences," there was no division "between you and our people of Africa. Africa is your Mother country, your Fatherland."[75] As has been pointed out in the chapter on philosophy, "geographical differences" represent only one of many important factors which have helped to keep people of African descent "apart".

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[74]"Njoroge to UNIA, April 13, 1960," Ed File 10.

[75]"Mwicigi to Tucker, July 4, 1959," Ed File 9. This idea of independent African states coming to the defence of Africans "abroad" was always a major preoccupation of Garveyites.

The statements and utterances of the students may sound highblown and hyperbolic, an observation which may also be made about a great deal of their writings. This is, quite possibly, a reflection of cultural background and peculiarities of their social environment. The effusiveness of the language, however, does not obscure the fact that these students seemed to have understood the pivotal points of the UNIA educational programme. These can be summarized as follows: Africans abroad would help Africa to develop and become independent by contributing to the education of natives of that continent. On returning to their homes after completing their studies, these scholars would occupy key positions in government service as well as in the private sectors of their country's economy. If only as a form of repayment, but preferably as a result of their conviction to the ideal that Africa belonged to Africans everhwhere, they would do all in their power to smooth the way for those Africans abroad, who may wish to do so, to "return" to the Motherland. This position was clearly stated to the writer during the course of his research.[76]

The question of the evlauation of this programme now suggests itself. Did it work? In the face of current evidence, the answer must be in the negative. As far as can be ascertained,

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[76]Interviews with the scholarship committee comprising Messers Tucker, Langdon, Beckford, and Marshalleck as well as Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Pierre.

the students graduated, some of them going on to pursue post-graduate studies. It is difficult to say how many returned to Africa, since only a few did keep up correspondence with the UNIA for any time after their graduation. Simon Gichuru did return to Kenya in 1968, and was attached to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.[77] He informed the division that George Mwicigi had also returned to Kenya, but there are no letters from the latter to confirm this.[78] Gichuru was later sent to Washington, D.C., to join the staff of the Kenyan Embassy in the U.S. capital.[79] Njoroge went on to study for the R.C. priesthood and, when last heard from, was on his way to Africa.[80]

These were among the few whose letters, written after they had completed their studies, are available in the UNIA records. On the basis of the great care with which these documents have been preserved, it would be reasonable to assume that others were not available because they were not written. This has been confirmed by members of the scholarship committee who have expressed some disappointment in their scholars with respect to this point. Gichuru has shown the most appreciation

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[77] "Gichuru to UNIA, February 14 and 27, 1968," Ed File.

[78] Ibid. Gichuru did not describe the work in which Mwicigi was involved. Mr. Tucker and others wished to know and, as late as 1969, they were asking Gichuru to get Mwicigi to write. See "Tucker to Gichuru, July 15, 1969," Ibid.

[79] "Gichuru to UNIA, July 3, 1969," Ibid.

[80] "Njoroge to UNIA, Dec. 6, 1965, and July 4, 1967, Ibid.

among all the scholars, as can be seen from the many letters which he wrote after his graduation. He even brought his wife, a Canadian of Caucasian descent, to meet his UNIA benefactors, especially Mr. and Mrs. Tucker whom he called "mum" and "dad"![81]

The relative scarcity of correspondence from the graduates, coupled with the fact that no system had been devised to keep track of the students once they had graduated, has made it extremely difficult to do any detailed analysis of whether or not the dreams and expectations of the UNIA were fulfilled. One has to rely on interviews with members of the scholarship committee who have all indicated that the students did not live up to what was expected of them. They cannot point to a single case, for example, in which their former charges have helped Africans abroad to return to the Motherland. With respect to the scholarship fund, on which they drew quite heavily while they were at university, there is no record that these graduates ever sent any contributions to ensure its growth and development so that others, coming after them, could benefit as they did.[82]

While one could argue that this type of behaviour is not restricted to scholars who made use of UNIA funds and then show little or no gratitude, as many a university administrator could testify, the fact is that it was a rather severe blow to the di-

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[81] Interviews with the Tuckers. See, also, his many letters in Ed File 8.

[82] Interviews with scholarship committee members.

vision. When one bears in mind the nature and purpose of the UNIA programme and the rationale behind it, one should understand that such ingratitude, on the part of those students, belong in a category separate and distinct from the situations which are met daily by administrators of bursaries and other forms of student aid. After all, the UNIA programme was an important part of that organization's philosophy of nation-building and repatriation of Blacks. Of course, one could argue that the hopes and expectations of the Montreal Division were unrealistic from the start. Even if this were true, it does not detract from the seriousness with which they had conceived their plans; nor does it excuse the manner in which the scholars conducted themselves once they got what they wanted out of those idealistic, if naive, Garveyites.

It must be pointed out, lest the wrong impression is conveyed in the paragraph above, that the members of the division are not embittered by their experience. They insist, however, that this type of behaviour is the major cause for the failure of the UNIA and the Negro race in general. They argue that far too many of the "intelligentsia and intellectuals" of African descent receive their education and training through the sweat and blood of their people, only to turn their backs on their race in order to pursue private and individual goals. While recognizing that other groups sometimes make the same claims, these UNIA veterans are convinced that the Negro race suffers from this type of "brain drain" to a much greater degree

than any other ethnic group.[83] And, as Mr. Langdon loves to add, no other group could less afford the loss!

If there is one case which the veterans keep coming back to whenever this topic is discussed, it concerns Dr. Leon Smart. In December, 1959, the year that the scholarship fund was established, Dr. Smart was asked to make a contribution towards helping the fund reach its objective of $1,000.00.[84] The division had no doubt that he would have wired a sizeable donation from his home in St. Louis, Missouri, After all, they reasoned, while he was a medical student at Mc Gill University, UNIA members had given him financial and other assistance. In addition to this, they helped him to go to the Homer G. Phillips Hospital, in 1937, in order to do his internship, because he was having trouble finding a Montreal hospital willing to accept him as an intern. According to Mr. Tucker, who is the chief source for this episode, the Homer G. Phillips Hospital had just been opened in St. Louis, Mo., for black patients and to train black doctors. He had found out about it and had virtually written Smart's letter of application. The latter, himself, in 1937, had acknowledged, although without going into specifics, the assistance which he had received from the Montreal Division.[85]

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[83] The fact that Rev. C. Este stayed and worked among the Blacks in Montreal rather than accept far more lucrative offers elsewhere is one of the reasons for his popularity here.

[84] "Tucker to Smart, Dec. 15, 1959", Ed File 13.

[85] "Smart to Tucker, July 16, 1937," Ibid.

Twenty two years had passed, and it was rumoured that Dr. Smart was carrying on a rather successful medical practice in St. Louis. It was also rumoured that he had visited Montreal on at least one occasion and had been generous to other funds in the city. The fact that he had not called upon the UNIA, if he had indeed visited this city, should have alerted its members to expect the worst. They did not; instead, they continued to convince themselves that he would come through with a donation which would express his gratitude and, at the same time, provide the opportunity for deserving Blacks to continue their education. This was not to be, however, and the UNIA did not even receive a reply to its letter from its former protegé, Dr. Leon Smart.[86] With this truly shocking disappointment and others of a like nature, it is not surprising that Mr. Tucker, six years after the programme had been instituted, wrote the following, with a note of resignation:

> We have Aid[ed] two young men from Kenya from [the] 1959 school year to 1965, we were very happy all the way, but ... we were LET[emphasis in original] down, truly I was disappointed and right now I, I cannot appeal to those who had made it possible to build the fund.[87]

One could feel the disappointed spirit in that letter which was written to another student hoping to gain a UNIA scholarship.

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[86] The UNIA letter to Dr. Smart was written on December 15, 1959, Ed File 13.

[87] "UNIA to Charles Wamanti Ndungu, Nov. 8, 1965," Ed File 13.

This leads, naturally, to an investigation of the motivation behind the statements made by many of the students while they were seeking financial aid or were in receipt of same. In reading their letters written during this stage of their careers, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the majority, perhaps, were merely expressing the sentiments which they knew would have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of Garveyites. The possibility exists that, in order to impress their benefactors, they were not above repeating the philosophical ideas of the UNIA in such a way as to impress its adherents that they, too, had unshakably believed in them. They did so with such intensity and effusiveness that one got the feeling that, in the words of the Queen in Shakespeare's Hamlet, those students "protested too much,..."[88] Of course, one cannot completely dismiss the possibility that they did, indeed, believe that which they had professed at the time, and their views may have changed as they grew older. Perhaps, this is what Dr. Smart had meant when, in thanking Mr. Tucker and the UNIA for all the "kindness and friendliness" they had shown him "all these years," he cryptically declared, "now I must move to new fields and pastures new."[89] One gets the impression, from their actions, that those students must have felt that their education had opened up for them pastures much greener than those promised by the UNIA and

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[88] Act III, Scene 2, lines 242 and 243.

[89] "Smart to Tucker, July 16, 1937," Ed File 13.

its philosophy.

Before leaving this section, it must be emphasized that this scholarship programme seemed to have been meant primarily for overseas students, especially those from Africa. Apart from Rita Falls of the Chambly County High School, no other black resident in Canada seemed to have profited from it. Besides, all the recipients were pursuing post secondary education, Miss Falls being the sole exception. In speaking to veteran Montreal Blacks who were not too closely linked with the UNIA, I was left with the impression that this was one of the factors which alienated them from the organization. They felt that it stressed Africa to the point that it tended to ignore problems which were closer to "home".[90] This viewpoint, with respect to foreign aid, is precisely the same which the majority of Canadians express when discussing the sums of money allocated by the government to departments such as the Canadian International Development Agency.

With respect to the social and recreational activities of the Montreal Division, there was a wide variety offered to its members in particular and the black population of the city in general. These included dances, concerts, parties including card, whist, tea and garden, banquets, bazaars, excursions by boat, bus, and train, summer picnics and the like. Apart from their social and recreational functions, they were very import-

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[90] Veterans included Mr. and Mrs. George Lam, Mrs. Mattie Wellons, and Mr. C. Ruggles, The first three died recently, with the Lams in their 80's and Mrs. Wellons close to 100 years of age.

ant in helping the division to raise money to run its operations. In some instances, they were put on purely for the purpose of replenishing the coffers of the association.

These activities were very popular with the black community of the city. This was true particularly during the early years of the organization because of two basic reasons: the scarcity of recreational areas in the wider community where people of African descent could go and feel welcome; the black institutions, which could have organized such events, were few and far between. The black person, in search of recreation and entertainment, was almost restricted to private parties or Liberty Hall and functions sponsored by it.[91]

Concerts and revues were frequently staged in conjunction with the SMM, but were not restricted to those occasions. Whenever it could be arranged, performers were brought in from outside the city and country.[92] While this was appreciated, the audience enjoyed watching their own children, friends, and neighbours on the stage. There was no dearth of local talent either, for the UNIA audience was treated to performances by such people as Oscar Peterson, Percy Rodriguez, the actor, and "songbirds" (the name given to the outstanding singers of a division) such as Mrs. Florence Marshall and Mrs. MacKinley. These two ladies

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[91] Interviews with veterans of the black community.

[92] Ibid. See, also, 1925 and 1932 programmes in Programmes and Agenda (hereafter P and A) File 1, ACHA Archives.

were so highly considered that many veterans would argue that only circumstances prevented them from becoming internationally famous singers.[93]

The various picnics and excursions, which were organized by the UNIA, are now put on by other groups in the community. They are still very popular with black Montrealers, especially those with a West Indian background. The reasons seem to include the fact that they are summer activities, and they afford people the opportunity to get outside in the country after the long and cold winter. These activities represent an economical way for families to enjoy the warm outdoors.

From the available records, the UNIA programme of summer picnics and excursions began in 1921.[94] The financial accounts for August show that $61.60 were spent for that year's picnic. It is not known precisely when the picnic took place or where it was held.

The second one was held on Thursday, July 20, 1922, at Pine Grove Park in Chambly County, a few miles south of Montreal.[95] On that day 170 persons were transported in special cars belonging to the Montreal and Southern Counties Railway Company (here-

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[93] No one seems to recall Mrs. MacKinley's first name. She was, simply, Mrs. MacKinley. Mrs. Marshall later became Mrs. E.J. Tucker. The eulogy read at her funeral in 1978 credited her with bringing soul music to Montreal.

[94] Ledger 1, p. 30.

[95] "MSCRC to UNIA, July 27, 1922," Picnic and Excursion (hereafter P and E) File 1, ACHA Archives.

after MSCRC) at a cost of $127.35. Other picnic costs were $25.00 for the use of Pine Grove,[96] $2.50 for advertizing materials,[97] and $28.84 for transportation of unspecified "parcels".[98]

Because of the inadequacy of the facilities at Pine Grove Park, the site of the picnic was switched the following year to Campbell Park, later renamed Otterburn Park, situated in St. Hilaire about 10 miles south of Montreal.[99] Advertized as "the largest public picnic grounds in the province,"[100] Otterburn Park offered the following facilities to go along with its spacious grounds: hot water cabins, a large dance hall with a piano, a well-equipped dining hall, and a pavilion with an attendant. Admission fees to the park were fifteen cents for adults and ten cents for children. There were special daily charges for use of the facilities: $6.00 for the hot water cabins, $15.00 for the refreshment pavilion, $20.00 for the dance hall. In addition, row boats could be rented at 50 cents an hour, shower and towel at 15 cents, and bathing suits at 25 cents. This information was spelled out to the UNIA by Colonel

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[96] "MSCRC to UNIA, July 27, 1922," P and E File 1. See, also, Ledger 1, p. 63.

[97] July 19, 1922, receipt, Ibid. Ledger 1, p. 63.

[98] July 20, 1922, receipt, Ibid. Ledger 1, p. 63.

[99] "MSCRC to UNIA, April 30, 1923," P and E File 1.

[100] Letterhead of Otterburn Park, P and E File 2.

Bruce F. Campbell, proprietor of Otterburn Park, in a letter dated June 22, 1923.[101]

With such facilities for fun and recreation, the UNIA organized a most sucessful picnic-excursion in 1923. Three hundred and forty three individuals (300 adults and 43 children) twelve years and under, left Montreal by a special CNR train on August 2 for Otterburn Park. Return transportation costs and entrance fees to the grounds amounted to $394.60.[102] For use of the facilities, the UNIA had to pay an additional $41.00.[103] This total of $435.60 in expenditures left the organization the tidy profit of $106.70 since total receipts came to $542.30.[104]

Between the years 1923 and 1935, the division's picnic-excursion to Otterburn Park in August was one of the big events on the social and recreational calendar of black Montreal. There were dancing, singing, sharing of things to eat and drink, and, in general, considerable merrymaking on the grounds of Otterburn Park on that summer day. For the children there were special games and athletic competition.[105] On occasions, adults, either

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[101] See letter in P and E File 2.

[102] "Campbell to UNIA, June 22, 1923," Ibid.

[103] Ibid., and Ledger 1, p. 91.

[104] Ledger 1, p. 94.

[105] These events were hotly contested affairs. One of the challenge trophies, a fairly large substantial silver cup donated by the Hon. Frank L. Connors, is a prized possession of the ACHA Archives.

from overconsumption of alcoholic beverages or overenthusiasm, got carried away to the point where they had to be restrained by security forces including a detachment of the Montreal unit of the African Legion.[106] For the most part, though, the occasion was one of joy and merriment, and many folks anxiously awaited that fun day in the sun.

One of the many interesting items to be found in the ACHA archives is a rather elongated photograph 2 feet 4 inches wide and only 9 inches in height. (It was taken in sections and then mounted together by the photographer). This photograph shows a group of about 200 picnickers in Otterburn Park, with most of the ladies and men fashionably dressed. The children were also well attired. Musical instruments, percussion and wind, are clearly visible. These were probably part of the UNIA band or a hired group which came along to provide music both at the park and while getting there and returning to Montreal. Everything in that photograph suggests gaiety, contentment, and a carefree spirit. On it is printed August 1, 1929, the day that the photograph was taken. The reader will immediately recall that this was merely 28 days before the stock market crash which heralded the start of the 1929-1939 Great Depression. Black Montreal, just like the other socio-economic and ethnic groups in the city and, indeed, in the country, was having a

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106 "Campbell to UNIA, July 30, 1934," P and E File 2. Also 1927 Picnic Programme and MB I, p. 54. Interview notes. African Legion will be discussed later in this chapter.

good time, even as the economic crisis was almost knocking at the door. With such unprecedented prosperity, which appeared to the vast majority as never-ending, very few believed that "...upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise."[107] As an example of this national prosperity before the tragic "crash", one only has to turn to the budget which Finance Minister James Alexander Robb had brought down the previous year. With the nation enjoying a favourable balance of trade amounting to $147,000,000, the minister was able to lower income and sale taxes while, at the same time, revising the tariff downwards.[108] Black Montreal, quite clearly, was enjoying a share of that prosperity.

The depression did not bring an end to these picnics and excursions. At one stage during that crisis there was talk of cancelling them because of the "economic situation" which prevailed in the black community.[109] This suggestion was rejected on the grounds that Blacks were unable to send their families to fresh-air camps on an individual basis and, therefore, the UNIA should do all in its power "to give the community the day's outing in the country."[110]

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[107] Taken from Lord Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimmage, published in 1812. The line is from the third canto of this poem and it describes Belgian society on the eve of Waterloo.

[108] See Carl Wittke, A History of Canada, McClleland and Stewart, 1935, pp. 373 to 374, for a brief discussion of this prosperity.

[109] MB 2, p. 100.

[110] Ibid.

The organization did find ways and means of reducing the cost of the popular event. They persuaded Colonel Campbell, for example, to reduce his rates.[111] In spite of this, they seriously considered changing the venue to less expensive grounds,[112] but Otterburn Park, with its superior facilities, triumphed in the end.[113]

The Second World War was another question altogether. It marked the end of these UNIA summer activities. This was explained to Colonel Campbell who had written to the organization offering the facilities of his park for the summer of 1940. In its reply the UNIA wrote the following:

> ... due to the serious turn of events in Europe, the organization has decided ... to cancel its projected picnic, thereby allowing our people as well as the organization to make their contribution - small though it may be - toward winning the war.[114]

There was no doubt as to where the UNIA stood with respect to its patriotic duties. The secretary went on to explain to the colonel that the division had lost the services of some of its best organizers who had joined the armed forces to see active

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[111] MB 2, pp. 38 and 127. See, also, "Campbell to UNIA, June 29, 1934," P and E 2.

[112] MB 2, p. 18.

[113] Ibid., p. 80.

[114] "UNIA to Campbell, June 10, 1940," P and E 3. It will be recalled that the UNIA did invest some of its money in the purchase of a victory bond. This type of patriotic gesture was traditional among people with a British West Indian background.

duty for Canada. Although the division promised to resume its excursion-picnics to Otterburn Park on the successful prosecution of the war (there was never any doubt in the minds of members which side would emerge victorious) or when the "outlook" became "brighter", it never did revive this activity.[115] By the time hostilities ended in Europe and the Far East, the black community had undergone so many changes that the UNIA premier summer event no longer met the demands of the new Montreal Negro.

The auxiliaries established by the Montreal Division were in keeping with the provisions made for them in the constitution.[116] These units were organized with the clear purpose of creating a feeling of self-sufficiency in the members with the hope that this would spread to the black population as a whole. As was mentioned in the chapter dealing specifically with the philosophy of the organization, self-sufficiency was one of its most important objectives. The auxiliaries also permitted members to develop a sense of usefulness and self-worth by being elected to leadership roles in the UNIA, albeit at the level of an auxiliary rather than that of the division.

The auxiliaries were patterned after similar organizations which existed in the general society and with which

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[115] "UNIA to Campbell, June 10, 1940," P and E 3.

[116] The relevant sections and articles will be cited when they are directly referred to.

Garvey and his followers were familiar. They were modified to meet the needs peculiar to the Blacks of that time, as far as the UNIA was able to perceive and define those needs. Instead of the more familiar Red Cross Nurses, for example, the UNIA organized the Black Cross Nurses. There was also a Universal African Legion with its Motor Corps division. As far as is known, the motor corps never did have the necessary equipment usually associated with a unit of that nature. Economic and other reasons, such as obvious governmental disapproval, were largely responsible for this military's unit failure to develop beyond that of an outstanding parade participant. With their smart and colourful units and precision drilling, the members of the African Legion drew loud applause whenever they paraded in Harlem or elsewhere. There is little doubt that Garvey understood the positive effect that such a show and the numerous titles which officers and men obtained as a result of being in these units would have on the membership growth of the UNIA. After all, at that time, there were not many avenues opened to black people whereby they could build up their self-esteem and morale.

The constitution provided for the establishment of these auxiliaries: the Universal African Black Cross Nurses (hereafter the BCNS),[117] the Universal African Legion (hereafter the UAL),[118] the Universal African Motor Corps (hereafter the

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[117] Articles I to VIII, pp. 65-68.

[118] Artiles I to XXVI, pp. 49-64.

UAMC),[119] UNIA Choir,[120] the Universal African Legion's Band (hereafter the orchestra),[121] and an "active juvenile branch."[122] During its most active years, the Montreal Division succeeded in organizing most of these auxiliaries, adhering as closely as possible to the rules and regulations laid down in the constitution.

Of all these units, the BCNS, or Black Cross Nurses Society, the name which the Montreal group gave to itself, has left the most complete account of its activities. Its inaugural meeting was held on March 29, 1921, at the home of Mrs. G. O'Brien, the Lady President of the organization at that time. This meeting dealt only with the election of officers: Miss Louise Hall was chosen to be the first president. Other offices to be filled that night were those of superintendent, captain and sergeants-at-arms. The election of a secretary and treasurer was postponed until the second meeting when Mrs. Rose Lord and Miss Alice Hall were selected to fill these posts.[123]

It is difficult to establish the precise membership of the BCNS. On the last page of its Minutes Book, fifty names appear as belonging to members. From internal evidence, such as

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[119] Articles I to IV, pp. 69-70.

[120] Articles I to VII, pp. 91-94.

[121] Article III, Section 60, p. 48.

[122] Article III, Section 62, p. 48.

[123] BCNS Minutes Book, pp. 1 and 2, ACHA Archives.

style of handwriting and different ink used, it is clear that these names were inscribed at different times. This would tend to suggest that the list represented the total number of persons who ever belonged to the BCNS during its entire existence. Since there were resignations from time to time, it would be incorrect to conclude that, at any stage in its history, this auxiliary had a membership of 50 persons.

The minutes of the meetings, which always recorded the members present, show a range in attendance from five[124] to twelve[125] individuals. This would tend to support the contention that the BCNS did not have as large a number as 50 members at a given time. The attendance list also indicates that those persons who attended regularly were precisely the same ones who were most active at the divisional level. Garveyites such as Mrs. Irene Julien, Mrs. Florence Marshall, Miss Louise Hall, Mrs. G. O'Brien, Mrs. E. Greenidge, and Mrs. B. Barton are outstanding examples.

An examination of the activities carried out by the BCNS shows that the auxiliary did not fulfill the most important functions set aside for it in the constitution. It was expected to organize a system of relief work which would go into effect should some unexpected calamity including "pesti-

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[124] BCNS Minutes Book, p. 21.

[125] Ibid., p. 22.

lence, famine, fire, [or] floods strike the community.[126] Fortunately for Montreal, such disasters, except for the occasional outbreak of fires which were handled by the civic authorities, did not hit the city, for the BCNS showed no signs that it would have been able to deal with such problems.

The auxiliary was also expected "to attend to the sick of the Division."[127] Once again, there is no evidence to suggest that this responsibility was carried out except in the case of sending flowers to hospitalized individuals. This was done in at least one case.[128] If the intent of that constitutional provision embraced the administration of drugs and medical services, the membership of the BCNS was in no position to fulfill that requirement because of lack of qualifications and training.[129]

The third major function of the BCNS was the dissemination of literature on subjects such as fire prevention and safety measures and practices. It was also required to promote sanitary and hygienic methods as well as to give instructions in first-aid techinques. Such public-safety and paramedical roles were also largely neglected. The available documents show that nothing was done with respect to the distribution of lit-

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[126] The constitution, Art. III, Sect. 1, p. 65.

[127] Ibid., Sect. 2, p. 65.

[128] BCNS Minutes Book, p. 4.

[129] Veteran members do not recall any qualified nurse among the membership, and the doctors in the division were all men.

erature and the promotion of sanitary practices. They do reveal, however, that an attempt was made to introduce a programme of first-aid techniques.

Four months after its establishment, the BCNS mandated two of its officers to consult with a Montreal doctor by the name of V. Bristol, on the subject of first-aid measures.[130] It is not known if anything was done in this regard because there is no record about the proposed interview. It does seem, however, that a first-aid class was organized shortly afterwards because the president of the division, Mr. Alfred Potter, in October, 1921, advised the auxiliary to obtain the services of another doctor to instruct this class.[131] Almost three years passed before further mention was made of this matter.

On May 15, 1924, the BCNS was reorganized at a meeting which was attended by Mr. William Trott who was then president of the division. The dynamic, dedicated, and activist Garveyite, Mrs. Florence Marshall,[132] was elected president, Mrs. H Bourne, secretary, and Mrs. Agnes Layne, treasurer. The medical responsibilities of the BCNS seemed to have been an important part of the reorganization plans because, after the election of officers, Dr. S. Wills, a specially invited guest, was asked to address the members of the auxiliary. In his remarks, Dr. Wills outlined the

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[130] BCNS Minutes Book, p. 14.

[131] Ibid., p. 13.

[132] She, later, married Mr. E.J. Tucker. See Ibid., p. 22 for information on this reorganization.

responsibilites of the BCNS, stressing its paramedical role, and the sacrifices which were expected of its members.[133]

Dr. Wills was invited back to the following meeting which was held one week later. He informed the members of the material and equipment which they would need to carry out their paramedical functions. These included the following articles: a cot, two blankets, rubber and cotton bed sheets, a jug, kettle, wool, lint, and bandage.[134] Plans were immediately drawn up to raise funds to procure these items and, for a time, it appeared that the BCNS was finally going to become an effective first-aid organization. This expectation received an extra boost when it reported that it had raised the sum of $85.40 towards the purchase of equipment and supplies.[135] Unfortunately for the researcher, the records come to an abrupt end at that point so that it is not possible to say what kind of success, if any, which the BCNS had with its programme.[136]

Since the Black Cross Nurses did not carry out the activities assigned to it by the constitution, it is reasonable to ask what they actually did to justify their existence. During its life-span of some four or five years, its undertakings were

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[133] BCNS Minutes Book, p. 22.

[134] Ibid., p. 23.

[135] Ibid., p. 24.

[136] Little oral information was available on the BCNS. By the time I got to realize that Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Bourne were members, medical reasons prevented interviews with them.

primarily social in nature. Bazaars, concerts, dinners, garden parties, dances and the like were held with fairly great regularity, largely for the purpose of raising funds. A "pink tea", for example, realized the sum of $11.95 which was earmarked for the purchase of first-aid materials.[137] Raffles were also organized, at least one play was staged, and a sewing class was set up.[138]

The auxiliary seemed to have suffered from a lack of the type of leadership which was necessary for it to carry out its proper responsibilities. Attempts were made to have medical personnel direct it in regard to its first-aid and other paramedical functions, as was mentioned above. One gets the impression, however, that there was no follow up on the ideas which were suggested by Dr. Wills.[139]

The educational level and occupational background of the members also worked against their being able to achieve the goals set out for them in the constitution. Internal evidence such as the Minutes Book and other written records suggest very strongly that the academic training of the members was substantially below that of the nursing profession or even of a nursing assistant. One gets the impression that the majority may have

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[137] BCNS Minutes Book, pp. 9, 12, and 21.

[138] Ibid., p. 14.

[139] He even suggested that certain books were useful for the group and could be obtained at "wholesale" prices. Ibid., p. 23.

reached the lower grades of elementary education as far as their formal schooling was concerned.[140]

Another possible explanation for the failure of the BCNS to carry out its mandate is closely allied to the education factor. It concerns the type of employment in which its working members were engaged. The evidence clearly suggests that they followed the patterns which were traditional for black women of the period, working in the service industries or, at best, in semi-skilled occupations. The long hours and arduous work usually demanded in such jobs did not afford these members of the BCNS the time or the motivation to undertake the type of paramedical duties which were the raison d'être of the auxiliary. Meetings were held at nights, and it was not unusual for them to last until after 11.00 p.m. The majority of the members would then have to be up early the next morning to face another rather strenuous day either in the homes or factories of their employers. It is not surprising, therefore, that they did not find it easy to devote the time to acquire the skills necessary for them to become de facto paramedics.[141]

Adding to the above difficulties was the apparent instability of the group, with frequent resignations of officers

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[140] The penmanship, syntax, and phraesology of the written documents suggest this conclusion.

[141] This matter of employment has already been discussed in the third chapter.

and induction of new members. These many changes did not result in any noticeable improvement in the quality of the leadership or in the enthusiasm of the general membership. It is not difficult to imagine the negative effects that such changes would have had on the ability of the BCNS to carry out its major activities.

As far as the financial situation of this auxiliary is concerned, the available documents permit a reconstruction of this area. Between March, 1921, and May, 1925, the BCNS deposited $308.46 in the UNIA treasury as follows: $189.56 in 1921, $43.00 in 1922, no deposits in 1923, $61.00 in 1924, and $14.90 in 1926. During the same period, $235.03 were spent on BCNS-related activities, while $28.19 were set aside for the Parent Body.[142] It is to be noted that in placing its money in the treasury of the division the auxiliary was carrying out one of the stipulations in the constitution.[143]

The BCNS sometimes directed the division's treasurer to forward money towards special projects of the UNIA in general. In 1922, for example, it ordered that $25.00 be paid to the Parent Body as a contribution towards the Marcus Garvey Defence Fund.[144] In addition, this auxiliary purchased $25.00 worth of

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[142] Ledger 1, pp. 18, 20, 22, 24, 36, 132, and Ledger 5, pp. 34, 114, and 115.

[143] Article 5, Section 6, p. 67.

[144] "BCNS to UNIA treasurer, Jan. 18, 1922," BCNS File, ACHA Archives. Also, Ledger 5, p. 114.

shares in the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company.[145] This corporation was established in 1924 to replace the bankrupt Black Star Line which had done so much damage to the finances and reputation of the organization.[146] The BCNS invested its money in the same year that the new corporation was launched and at a time when the competence, integrity, and honesty of the organization were being seriously questioned and even doubted in many circles. The Montreal sisters, it would appear, still had great confidence in their international leaders.

The UAL was given the important responsibility of preparing the male members of the UNIA for military service in the interest of the black race.[147] Members were to be chosen from the age group of 18 to 55 years, and were required to be in good health.[148]

This auxiliary was intended to do for the men what the BCNS was supposed to do for the women. It provided the opportunity for them to develop self-pride and confidence, as well as to learn and execute management and leadership skills. As one of the most popular units of the organization largely because of its attractive uniform and martial air, the UAL was a most

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[145]This stock certificate hangs on one of the walls of the ACHA archives.

[146]Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 120-121.

[147]The constitution, Art. I, Sect. 2, p. 49.

[148]Ibid., Sect. 1, p. 49.

effective public-relations and recruitment instrument of the organization.

The Montreal Division did, for a time, have its UAL, but it never developed to any extent in this city. It proved impossible to determine its date of establishment. In fact, the first reference to it, as uncovered in the available documents, was made on July 27, 1927. On that day Mr. William Trott requested that Sunday, August 21, be set aside for the "African Legions."[149] Although it was not said what the UAL had planned for that day, the request was, from all appearances, granted. It should be observed that 1927 was quite late for the formation of such an auxiliary. By that time, the UNIA and its sub groups were on the decline, so that it would not be reasonable to expect the formation of new units during that period. It is far more likely that the UAL was established during the glory years of the division, but it never became as organized and as functional as even the BCNS.

Very little was learned about the membership and activities of this auxiliary. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was used to help keep order among those people who had gone beyond the bounds of moderation during the annual picnic at Otterburn Park.[150] Perhaps the most appropriate comment about

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[149] MB 1, p. 53.

[150] See p. 265.

it was made during a discussion of its activities at one of the regular meetings of the division. This auxiliary was unflatteringly described as "a waste of good time."[151] This was followed up with the suggestion that its "members should devote their energy and time towards some other kind of work" which would be of some value to the division.[152]

It is not surprising that members should reach such a conclusion about the UAL. The concept of a paramilitary force, with its own weapons, in addition to being irrelevant to the Canadian scene, is alien to the relatively non-militaristic tradition of this country. While it may be a right under the constitution of the U.S.A. for citizens of that country to "openly bear arms", Canada, as part of its British heritage, looks suspiciously on such practices. As for its duty to defend the cause of the black race, the UAL would have found this very difficult because of various factors among which were the small size and the peaceful nature of the black population of this city and country.

Considerably more information is available on the Literary Club of the Montreal Division. Founded on November 26, 1920, this auxiliary was one of the oldest units of the assoc-

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[151] MB 1, p. 67. The fact that not many veterans had any recollection of this auxiliary is further evidence of its insignificance to the division.

[152] Ibid.

iation.[153]

It should be noted that the UNIA constitution did not provide for a Literary Club as such. Since it was classified by the division as an auxiliary, however, it automatically was subject to the rules and regulations which governed all auxiliaries. These included the relationship between sub-group and and division. This was clearly spelled out to the club by the Montreal Division[154] as well as by Mr. George D. Creese, UNIA Commissioner for Canada, during a jurisdictional dispute between club and division.[155]

The early officers of the club deserve some mention if only because many of them went on to play important roles in the division and in the Montreal black community in general. It should be pointed out, at this stage, that the club's members tended to be late adolescents and young adults.

Among the first officers were James Gibson, president, Charles Este, vice president, William H.F. Duke, secretary, Ann De Shields, assistant secretary, A.M. Alberga, treasurer, L. De Shields, librarian, S.M. Simpson, chairman of the booking committee, Evelyn Gibson, head of the advisory board, and Augustine

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[153]Group photograph of the officers of the club, ACHA Archives.

[154]"Montreal Division to Literary Club, May 18, 1921," Literary Club (hereafter LC) File, ACHA Archives.

[155]"Creese to Montreal Division and LC [no date]," LC File.

Layne, member of the executive.[156] In 1921 Duke served as vice president, while Sydney M. Simmons and J.V. Langton shared the post of secretary.[157]

The reader may recall that Simmons was perhaps the only member of the division to make a monetary contribution to the African Redemption Fund organized by the Parent Body. Charles Este who, later, became a minister of the Congregational Church of Canada,[158] served as chaplain of the division and was considered the black minister of Montreal. Miss L. De Shields has been described as the first black librarian in the city, while her sister, Anne, became one of the best known community workers in Montreal.[159] Duke remained a dedicated Garveyite until his death and was the secretary of the division during the 1930's.

The Literary Club was a most active auxiliary, undertaking a wide variety of activities under the general classification of "literary". These included educating its members and the general black population in the dramatic arts, stressing such skills as elocution, public speaking and debating. This was excellent preparation for concerts and plays which were staged by the club and which were usually artistic as well as

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[156] Interview with Mrs. Packwood and photograph.

[157] Letters in LC File.

[158] In 1925 it became a founding member of the United Church of Canada.

[159] Interviews with veterans of the black community.

financial successes.[160]

The club was also interested in educating its members and the Montreal black community in ways other than artistic. It brought into the city speakers who were able, from their knowledge and experience, to contribute to the widening of the horizons of those who came to hear them speak. In 1921, for example, Richard Tobitt visited Montreal at the invitation of the club. Tobitt, who was born in Bermuda but resident in the U.S.A., was leader of the West Indian region of the UNIA. His visit gave a noticeable boost to the auxiliary which described it as a successful undertaking.[161] Unfortunately, there was no mention of the topic or topics on which Tobitt based his talks.

Later that same year, the club scored an even bigger catch in the person of William Ferris.[162] This native of the U.S.A. was regarded as one of the foremost American intellectuals of the time and a leader among the black intelligentsia. In 1915, his book, The African Abroad, was published. It has been described as an "encyclopaedic historical and anthropological study."[163] A first assistant president of the UNIA, Ferris was editor of its newspaper, the Negro World, from 1920

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[160]Interviews with Mrs. Packwood and Rev. C. Este.

[161]"Literary Club to Montreal Division, March 20, 1921," LC File. For more information on Tobitt, see Martin, Race First, pp. 47-49.

[162]"LC to Montreal Division, May 13, 1921," LC File.

[163]Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 159.

to 1923.[164]

Professor Ferris' visit to Montreal was an unqualified success. His lectures (once again the topics were not mentioned) proved to be informative, interesting, and popular.[165] The club was able to raise $148.15 in attendance fees which were set at 75 cents per person. This meant that approximately 197 people paid to hear the visiting lecturer.[166] As is the case with events of this type, one can assume that there were complimentary passes, so that the total number in attendance at the lecture series must have exceeded two hundred persons. Total receipts, including sales of refreshments, amounted to $249.68. This was more than enough to pay the speaker his fee of $35.00 as well as to take care of all other expenses incurred in bringing him to Montreal.[167]

Another aspect of the education programme of the Literary Club was the establishment of a modest library. One can see the hand of Miss L. De Shields behind this project which was of great benefit to the black community because of the scarcity of such resources at the time. This library did more than provide books and other reading material. It was used as a centre to

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[164]Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 159.

[165]Interviews with Mrs. Packwood and Rev. C. Este.

[166]The fraction is probably the result of financial donations to help defray the costs involved.

[167]Manuscript report on Professor Ferris' visit by the Literary Club. See LC File.

help children develop their reading and study skills, a service which was of special importance to the black youths of the city.[168]

In spite of the successful operation of the Literary Club (one is tempted to say 'because of its success'), it was often in conflict with the executive of the division. The major difficulty arose over the issue of the autonomy of the auxiliary, especially as this related to the control of its money. The club felt that a great degree of financial and administrative independence was essential for the successful execution of its programme. The division was not prepared to grant this.

At its business meeting held on May 12, 1921, the division carefully reviewed its relationship with all its auxiliaries. It concluded that these units must be made to deposit their funds with the secretary of the division, as well as submit a report on their past activities.[169] These demands, as was seen above in the discussion on the BCNS, were in keeping with the provisions of the constitution.

The Literary Club balked at the orders from the division, and its members resisted what they considered to be unwarranted encroachment on their rights. The division continued to push its demands, however, but the club always found some way to delay.

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[168] Interviews with Mrs. Packwood and Rev. C. Este.

[169] "Montreal Division to the Literary Club, May 18, 1921," LC File. This was part of the overall supervision which a division was entitled to carry out with respect to its auxiliaries.

their execution. The auxiliary even went as far as to place obstacles in the way of having its accounts audited.[170] It was not until the fall of 1921 that the club finally agreed "to obey the Laws and Rulings of the GOVERNING BODY."[sic][171]

The problem over transferring the funds of the club to treasury of the division was not the only difficulty to develop between auxiliary and division. A serious conflict arose over the location of the club and where its activities were to be held.

At the beginning of its existence, the auxiliary held its meetings and carried on its activities at the Guy Street Hall of the organization. The division was pleased with this arrangement because, among other reasons, it meant financial assistance in the form of rent. In November, 1921, for example, the auxiliary paid a rent of $3.00 to hold a "social" at Liberty Hall.[172] In December of the same year, when two other "socials" were held, the club paid $10.00 to the division.[173] Regular meetings convened in September, October, and November, 1921, brought the division $24.00 in rent at the rate of $8.00

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[170] "Literary Club to Montreal Division, July 21, 1921," LC File. See, also, the auditor's report for the year ending January 31, 1922, Audit File, ACHA Archives.

[171] Sept. 25, 1921, report of LC Committee, LC File.

[172] Ledger 5, p. 120.

[173] Ibid.

per month.[174] During the summer months, "owing to the industrial and financial conditions" of "the colored people" of Montreal, the club was forced to discontinue its activites.[175] As a consequence, no rent was paid.

With this source of revenue accruing to its treasury, it is not surprising that the division took an exceedingly dim view of the decision of its auxiliary to conduct a part of its business at another venue. This decision was taken in December, 1921, when the club negotiated with the manager of the Sleeping and Dining Car Department of the CPR to hold its "Tuesday nights' meetings" in the "Porters Quarters" of that company. The rent was fixed at $6.00 per month, representing a savings of $2.00 per month to the auxiliary when compared with the rate charged for the use of Liberty Hall.[176] All this negotiation was carried out without any prior warning by the auxiliary to the division. It was presented as a fait accompli to the senior body through a letter written by the club two weeks after it had held its first meeting in the new premises.[177]

As if the move itself and the manner in which it was carried out were not enough to raise the ire of the divis-

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[174] Ledger 5, p. 120.

[175] "LC to Montreal Division, June 12, 1921," LC File.

[176] Ledger 5, pp. 120 and 121.

[177] "LC to Montreal Division, December 20, 1921, LC File.

ion, the auxiliary, in a postscript to its letter, suggested that its senior body should pay it a refund on the rent which it had already advanced for the use of Liberty Hall on December 8 and 22, 1921. The club members felt entitled to this rebate because they "had to wait on the convenience of a Political party" which did not end its meeting at the scheduled time.[178] One could well imagine the frustration of the senior members when it discovered that, in January and March, 1922, its auxiliary paid additional rents of $19.50 for use of the CPR porters' hall.[179] They could certainly have made use of that money within the organization as a whole.

To add insult to injury, the Literary Club, on March 23, 1922, invited a real estate agent named Hancock to speak to its members on the subject of establishing a "Building Society."[180] This move, which suggested that the auxiliary was contemplating purchasing its own property at a time when the division was taking steps to do the same, was clearly too much for the senior body to contemplate. In a fit of anger, it condemned the move as clearly "unconstitutional in every sense of the word."[181] Hancock was able to deliver his address only in open defiance

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[178] "LC to Montreal Division, Dec. 20, 1921," LC File.

[179] Ledger 5, p. 120.

[180] Resolution of a meeting of the divisional executive held on April 21, 1922, LC File.

[181] Ibid.

of the president of the division.[182]

In assessing the effect that these moves on the part of the Literary Club had on the senior body, one must not think only in terms of lost revenue. One must consider it also in the light of the philosophy of the organization, especially as it relates to self-reliance. After all, the division had moved its operation from the same CPR porters' quarters which its auxiliary had decided to rent. This must have appeared as a step backwards in the eyes of those older members who recalled the reasons for their abandoning the premises of that railroad giant.

Had this conflict between auxiliary and division remained a local problem, it would have been bad enough for the organization. It took on a much wider aspect, however, when the Parent Body was brought into the dispute by the Literary Club. Its president dispatched a "full report" to the New York Headquarters, emphasizing what transpired between it and its senior body at a meeting called to discuss the developments. He even sent along related material to the Negro World, so that the entire affair could receive much wider publicity.[183]

President General Marcus Garvey was alarmed at the Montreal conflict, and he wrote an article in the organization's

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[182] April 21, 1922, executive resolution, LC File.

[183] Ibid.

newspaper strongly criticizing the stand adopted by the division. He went as far as to threaten proceedings to have its charter revoked.[184] The Montreal Division concluded from Garvey's attack that he did not have all the facts concerning the case. They, therefore, decided to send him a detailed report, with the request that careful consideration be given to its contents. In the meantime, it decided to suspend all activities of its recalcitrant auxiliary.[185]

The Parent Body also decided to conduct an investigation of its own. Towards this end, it ordered George Creese, the Commissioner for Canada, to proceed to Montreal and take up the matter with both division and auxiliary. In his undated report, Commissioner Creese placed the responsibility for the rift equally on the shoulders of the division and the club. He pointed out, inter alia, that the auxiliary should have consulted the division before taking the steps which led to so much difficulty. The executive, on the other hand, was taken to task for not reacting with more patience and forbearance. In the words of the commissioner,

> ... if the Laws are to be enforced, they must be done with justice, love and fairness to all; for we must always keep this fact in mind that ... although the constitution gives the president of a division a wide scope of power, dis-

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[184] April 21, 1922, executive resolution, LC File.

[185] Ibid.

> cretion at times, will cement the ties of friendship, love and unity, firmer than the rigid enforcement of any law.[186]

Creese's report, with its balanced approach, conciliatory tone and, for the most part, polished prose helps to explain why he was a member of the diplomatic staff of the UNIA.

It is left to consider why the Literary Club met with such success, especially when compared with the BCNS and UAL. There can be little doubt that the calibre of the leadership had much to do with this question. The executive of the club certainly had reached a higher level of education than their counterparts in the BCNS. This is clearly evident from the reports and other documents belonging to that auxiliary which have survived. Individuals such as Rev. Este and Mrs. Anne Packwood, both of whom I have had the good fortune to have met and interviewed, are both highly educated and resourceful persons. As officers of the club, they must have inspired it to action on a fairly high plain. It should be noted that the difference in educational attainments between members of the club and of the BCNS was probably a reflection of the greater educational opportunities available to the younger Blacks of the city, a group, as was mentioned above, that made up a majority of the members of the club.[187]

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[186] Report of Commissioner George Creese to the Parent Body of the UNIA, [no date]. A copy is in the LC File.

[187] This improvement has continued even though some problems still exist.

Since level of education, by itself, is inadequate to explain the success of the club, other factors must be sought. In general, a younger group of people would tend to be more energetic than an older group, all other things being equal. It is quite possible that the older people, because they had the task of "making a living" for themselves and, probably, for members of the Literary Club, had even less energy for additional duties than their more youthful counterparts. This point must not be carried too far because there were members of the auxiliary who worked for the railroads and were often away from home for several days at a time.[188]

It seems that the most important component of the explanation lies in the nature of the activities undertaken by the club. Organizing social, educational and entertainment projects was well within their experience and competence and consistent with their tastes. The club itself defined its own responsibilities so that it is not surprising that its members were able to carry out their programmes in so satisfactory a manner. This is in marked contrast to the situation with the Black Cross Nurses and African Legions whose duties were outlined in the constitution. As was shown above, these tasks were usually unrealistic and almost impossible to execute, at least as far as the Montreal Garveyites were concerned. In the

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[188] See, for example, "Duke to Montreal Division, July 21, 1921," LC File.

case of the Literary Club, the functions were relevant, timely, and of practical value. It is little wonder, therefore, that this auxiliary enjoyed the measure of success that it did.

As was suggested above, the division itself was quick to recognize how successful the club was, even though it did not always make life easy for its auxiliary. Perhaps the best indication of the division's recognition of the excellent work which the club had carried out came in a suggestion made by President Alfred Potter on September 26, 1928. During one of its many discussions on ways and means of reviving the association, Mr. Potter recommended that the club be resurrected in order to make "our Sunday evening programme more attractive."[189] One could only comment that it was indeed a pity that the division had to await the demise of its most active auxiliary before fully appreciating its true value.

Other auxiliaries of the Montreal Division included an orchestra, a juvenile branch, a Universal Negro Youth Administration (hereafter UNYA), and a boys' band. With the exception of the last-named group, there is very little information about these auxiliaries in the records that are available.

The orchestra was one of the early units to be formed by the division. The precise date of its formation is not known, however. The first reference to it, as located in the records,

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[189] MB 1, p. 103.

takes the form of a budgetary item which explained that its director, Mr. Charles Dyall, received $8.00 in April, 1921, in order to purchase materials for the orchestra.[190]

In keeping with the provisions laid down in the constitution,[191] this auxiliary provided music for the SMM of the division. It also played for dances and other similar functions organized by the association.[192]

It is not known when the orchestra became defunct. It seems to have lasted, with some changes in personnel, until the 1929-1939 depression which forced many black Montrealers to leave the city in search of employment. Among those to migrate was Mr. Charles Dyall who, for many years, served as the director of this auxiliary.[193]

The date of the establishment of the juvenile branch is also unknown. The earliest reference to it, found in the records, states that $6.00 were set aside in July, 1922, for a "juvenile picnic."[194] It is more than likely that this auxiliary was formed at an earlier date because the UNIA, as a whole, had placed considerable emphasis on a youth wing, and would not, as a result, have waited that long to have one established in Montreal. The

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[190] Ledger 1, p. 103. See, also, Ibid., p. 27 and "Dyall to UNIA, July 14, 1921," Orchestra File, ACHA Archives.

[191] Art. II, Sect. 57, p. 61.

[192] "Dyall to UNIA, July, 1921," Loc. Cit.

[193] Dyall moved to Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.

[194] Ledger 1, p. 63.

fact that many members were parents and would be interested in having their children associated with the organization is also a compelling factor which helps to make one come to this conclusion.[195]

The programme drawn up for the juvenile branch included academic work[196] as well as subjects dealing with "Spiritual and Racial uplift."[197] This took the form of talks on the UNIA, its purpose, programme and activities and what, in today's vernacular, is loosely referred to as Black Studies. There were also lessons in handicraft during which the young people were taught to make UNIA-type souvenirs. These were later sold in order to raise funds for the group. Finally, proper conduct, good manners, and healthy habits were taught to the juveniles.[198]

Considerable attention was paid to the performing arts including public speaking, singing, recitation and dramatization. Those with recognizable talent were given every encouragement to develop their gifts. Famous black Montreal performers such as actor, Percy Rodrigues, and the celebrated pianist, Oscar Peterson, received some of their early training here. The former was acclaimed for his recitation of the Rudyard Kipling.

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[195]Interviews with former juvenile branch members such as Corinne and Elaine Cooper, Alan Husbands, and Daisy Patterson.

[196]May, 1929, executive circular, HF 2.

[197]The constitution, Art. III, Sect. 61, p. 61.

[198]Interview notes. Also, Ibid., pp. 88-90.

poem, "Gunga Din".[199]

Some Sundays were set aside for the juveniles to put on special programmes for the entertainment of the black community. On such occasions, in addition to the musical and oratorical performances of the young people, guest speakers shared the limelight. Their topics were chosen with the youths in mind, and they concentrated on such questions as "Training the Minds of Children."[200]

The juveniles did not always perform and entertain. They, in turn, were entertained and special forms of recreational activities were organized for them. Every Christmas, for example, a party was thrown for them. The division made sure of this by allocating a special sum of money for that purpose.[201] During the summer months picnics and athletic games were staged and, during the latter events, keen and healthy competition was encouraged. All these activities were carried out under the leadership of the Lady President who, by constitutional provision, was "Honorary Superintendent of the Juveniles."[202]

The decline and disappearance of this auxiliary coincided with the decline of the division. As members left the city

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[199]Interviews with veterans and former juveniles.

[200]Interview notes. See, also, "Special Juvenile Programme" for Sept. 4, 1932, Juvenile File, ACHA Archives.

[201]MB 1, p. 35.

[202]Ibid., pp. 26 and 27. Art. IV, Sect. 1, p. 90 in the constitution.

in search of a better life, taking their children with them, the juvenile branch gradually went out of existence.

How successful was this auxiliary? There is little doubt that the children who belonged to it received important training in different areas at a time when such was not easily available to Blacks. A few even went on to gain international fame and to enjoy a comfortable lifestyle. In addition to Oscar Peterson and Percy Rodrigues, who immediately come to mind, Corinne Cooper is another example. As a young person, she had won many an athletic event at the summer picnics and at sport meetings organized for the young people. She later developed into Canada's champion female sprinter before the Second World War. She would have represented this country at the 1940 Olympiad had not that catastrophic war caused the cancellation of that international sporting event.[203]

All this seems to suggest that the work of the auxiliary met with some success. When it is considered, however, that the most important function of a juvenile section of any organization must be the preparation of its junior members to take over and carry on the work when the seniors are unable to continue, one must conclude that the juvenile branch did not meet with unqualified success.[204] The juveniles of the 1920's and 1930's did not

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[203]Corinne Cooper's Scrapbook.

[204]This is not an argument against the grooming of young people or in favour of older members preventing young blood from leadership roles until it is too late.

give any appreciable support to the UNIA in the 1940's, 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's. Notable exceptions such as Elaine Cooper and Henry Langdon, who are still ardent Garveyites and staunch advocates of the UNIA, merely serve to underscore the general rule.[205]

Not very much is known about UNYA. The only document which deals with it and which has been located is its constitution and by laws. This is very fortunate because it presents a very good idea of the aims, objectives, and proposed manner of operation of this unit. Interviews did not produce a great deal of additional information.

According to its constitution, UNYA was intended for people between the ages of 16 and 30,[206] i.e. those who were too old for the juvenile section but not old enough to assume leadership roles in the division as a whole. Its "aims and objects" were an amalgamation of those which were drawn up for the organization at its inaugural meeting held in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1914.[207] Its educational and social ideas were ess-

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[205] Many of these individuals, who were interviewed, have expressed some nostalgia for the good old days at "the hall". In spite of this, they did not continue their membership in the UNIA and seldom visited Liberty Hall. Most explain that some senior members regarded them as threats to their position and resented their presence. As a result, they avoided the UNIA as soon as they were old enough to do so.

[206] UNYA constitution, UNYA File, ACHA Archives.

[207] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin, Vol. II, p. 38 and E.D. Cronon, Marcus Garvey ..., p. 24.

entially those advocated by the organization with slight modifications to make them more in line with the Canadian and Montreal reality. It hoped to achieve its goals by having study sessions, guest lectures, and by promoting the reading of relevant books.[208]

The precise date for the establishment of this auxiliary could not be ascertained, but it does seem that it could not have been before 1923. This conclusion is based on the fact that its members were required to study the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, the first volume of which book was published in 1923.[209] It is not known when UNYA went out of existence.

The boys' band was established in the summer of 1926, after a fund-raising campaign, with the objective of raising $2,000, was launched. This money was to be used to buy "instruments and equipments."[210] It was expected that members of the band would eventually become "instrumentalists", and would be able to provide music to liven up the SMM.[211]

The campaign's objective was not realized, so that the division had to stage special fund-raising events such as concerts, raffles, and dances.[212] By the end of December, 1926, the

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[208] UNYA constitution.

[209] Ibid: The second volume of this book was first published in 1925.

[210] Boys' Band Note Book 1 (hereafter BBNB 1) pp. 2 and 3.

[211] Ibid., p. 2.

[212] MB 1, pp. 57 and 74. Boys' Band Committee File (hereafter BBCF). January 4, 1928, notes, ACHA Archives.

sum of $93.26 was collected. By the fall of 1927, the chairman of the Band Committee, Mr. Charles Russell who was also vice president of the division, reported that "12 pieces of Brass Instruments" were purchased and would be distributed to the members in October.[213] The campaign apparently continued after the instruments were bought. The records show that, by 1930 (the date of the last available document on the subject), the division had raised $603.70 as shown in the following table:[214]

Table VII. - Boys' Band Fund-Raising Campaign

	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Proceeds in Dollars	93.26	121.50	279.97	99.15	10.00

Total = $603.70

The band started with a membership of twelve boys including Allan Husbands, one of the leading Prince Hall Masons of the city and an official of Union Church, Donald Potter, son of Alfred Potter, D. Peterson, brother of Oscar Peterson, and G. Warner, a leading personality in the black community.[215]

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[213] Ledger 2, pp. 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 35, 41, 47, 49, 51, 55, 59, 61, 65, 71, 73, 75, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 95, 99, 103, 109, 113, 117. Ledger 5, pp. 124 and 125.

[214] Collated from MB 1, p. 63 and Ledger 2, p. 65.

[215] Based on identification of individuals in a photograph of the boys' band as well as BBNB 1, p. 4.

Henry Langdon, the current president of the division, joined at a later date.

Each boy was assigned an instrument, but his parents were required to pay a weekly fee of 25 cents. This was increased later on. The fee was intended to help defray the cost of hiring an instructor. The "colored community" was expected to contribute to the music teacher's fees. Each student paid $20.00 per month.[216]

This auxiliary proved to be expensive and disappointing. During the first year it cost the division more than $500.00, and there was precious little to show for such a large sum of money.[217] As a result, the band became a major and frequent topic of discussion at regular meetings, with the members going over essentially the same grounds in their attempt to find solutions for the problems posed by the band.[218]

The difficulties stemmed from a number of factors. The members of the band did not make the rapid progress which the division and their parents had expected. The division was very anxious for the band to reach the stage where it could provide entertainment for the SMM and other important occasions such as anniversary celebrations.[219] The parents of the boys, unfortunately,

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[216] MB 1, pp. 74 and 75.

[217] Ibid., p. 77.

[218] See MB 1, pp. 130, 136, and 137 for examples.

[219] Nov. 23, 1928, minutes, BBCF.

also wanted instant success. They could hardly wait to see their children perform before the folks of the city. When the band did perform, therefore, both division and individual parents were disappointed at the quality of the music.[220]

Adding to this problem was the attitude of both the students and instructors. The former did not display the type of interest in their music lessons which were necessary if they were to profit from the instructions. They also failed to devote sufficient time to practise their instruments, and even skipped classes on occasions when it was possible to do so. Such behaviour, apart from suggesting insufficient motivation on the part of the pupils, was a reflection of parental disinterest or lack of sufficient control of their children. They all wanted to see their boys put on a show before an audience, but many did not take the time to ensure that their children spent the necessary time in preparing themselves.[221]

As for the teachers, one is left with the impression that the attitude of the pupils and parents did not inspire them to put their best foot forward. It also does appear that the first two, Professor Symth[222] and Mr. Prevost, did not have

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[220]Interviews with Mr. E.J. Tucker who was secretary of the Boys' Band Committee.

[221]MB 1, p. 153. Interviews with Tucker and H.J. Langdon. Nov. 29, 1928, minutes, BBCF.

[222]The title, "professor", seemed to be honorary. It is doubtful if he had any university training at all.

the type of dedication necessary for them to overcome pupil and parental weaknesses and achieve the goals set by the division. They seemed more interested in collecting their salary than in motivating their students to greater effort. They tended to absent themselves from their teaching sessions with disrupting frequency. That certainly was not the type of example which students, even the highly motivated, should be shown by their teachers. The best illustration of teacher interest in their charges was, perhaps, the manner in which they abruptly resigned the job, without giving thought to the person who would take over.[223]

The final straw was the ever escalating cost of the project. The boys did not show a great deal of concern for their instruments. As a result, they were frequently damaged, and the repair bills were becoming rather burthensome. Rising teachers' fees also put a heavy strain on the budget of the association. As a consequence of this financial strain, the division was forced to increase the fees charged each band member to $1.50 per week.[224] This eased the situation somewhat for a time, but, with the onset of the depression, there was hardly any money available. When the group was disbanded in 1936, therefore, the division had become more than disenchanted with this auxiliary which, only seven years previously, it had proudly advertized as its "leading

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[223] MB.1, p. 133. "Professor" Smyth left to play in a night-club band "up town". Apparently Luigi, an Italian instructor, showed the most interest in the students, according to interviews.

[224] No.v 28, 1928, minutes, BBCF.

feature."[225]

In concluding this chapter on the activities and auxiliaries of the division, it can be said that the Montrealers did their best to follow the lines laid down in the constitution. They were successful in organizing various units and in carrying out activities of a highly varied nature. The members were given opportunites for developing leadership qualities as well as a feeling of self-reliance and self-esteem. They certainly enjoyed themselves at the social and recreational functions which, at the same time, helped to finance their various projects. As would be expected, not all the auxiliaries and projects enjoyed the same degree of success. On the contrary, some could only be considered at best marginally passable; while others were failures. It is to the credit of the division, however, that even the failures did not result from a lack of trying or disbelief in the underlying philosophy on which the project was based. Rather, it was a question of insufficient means on the part of the membership or unsuitablility for the Canadian and Montreal society..

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[225] June, 1929, executive circular, BBCF.

CHAPTER VI

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES

The constitution of the UNIA made provisions for holding meetings on an international and regional level in order to ensure the proper functioning of the organization.[1] It was at these meetings that the most important decisions, such as the amendments or revision of the constitution, were made. As a consequence, they were of supreme importance to the well-being of the organization, and the various units were expected to participate in them. The Montreal Division played an active and constructive role in the most significant of these meetings.

Before Garvey died in London, England, on June 10, 1940, the UNIA held eight International Conventions of the Negro Peoples of the World, and two regional conferences.[2] The first four international conventions took place in New York City in 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1924. There was no convention in 1923 because

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[1] The 1918 constitution, Art. I, Sect. 1, p. 30.

[2] "Convention" will be used to indicate the international meetings when delegates are expected from all the units of the association. "Conference" will be used to designate those meetings held on a regional basis as far as divisional participation was concerned. This is in keeping with general UNIA usage.

Garvey was in prison after he was found guilty on a charge of using the U.S. mail to defraud. He had appealed his conviction, but was unable to obtain bail in time to attend the convention. As a result, it was decided to cancel the event, even though elaborate preparations had already been made to hold it.[3]

The fifth convention was held in Detroit in 1925. It was essentially an emergency meeting called by UNIA stalwarts for the purpose of transacting "urgent organization business."[4] Garvey had lost his appeal against his conviction when, on February 2, 1925, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against him. He, therefore, had to begin serving his 5-year prison term and, as a consequence, was unable to attend the meeting.

The sixth and seventh conventions were held in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1929 and 1934 respectively. This venue was chosen because of Garvey's immigration status with the U.S. authorities. Late in November, 1927, he was released from prison on a commutation order issued by President Calvin Coolidge. He was immediately taken to New Orleans and, in early December, deported from the U.S.A., never to return.[5] As he was then liv-

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[3] Martin, Race First, p. 187. See, also publicity documents in Cancelled Convention File, ACHA Archives.

[4] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 202. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 139.

[5] Garvey had hoped to return to the U.S.A. in "a few years". See N.Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 8, 1927, dispatch quoted in J.H. Clarke, Marcus Garvey and the Vision ..., p. 274.

ing in Kingston, Jamaica, which had become the de facto headquarters of the organization.[6] The eighth international convention, the last to be staged before Garvey's death, took place in Toronto in 1938.

In addition to those conventions, the UNIA held two regional conferences during the lifetime of its founder. They occurred in 1936 and 1937, and the venue, on both occasions, was Toronto. They were convened largely to enable Garvey to meet with his American supporters who were able to attend from various centres of the U.S.A. Canadian units, as would be expected, also participated in these meetings.[7]

The organization continued to hold conventions and conferences after Garvey's death, the most recent being held in Philadelphia in August, 1979.[8] These gatherings, however, reflected the reduced status of the organization which, as was shown above, was on the decline since the criminal indictment and conviction of its leader. The delegates, for the most part, are veterans of the organization who had been with Garvey from very early and were imbued with his spirit. Some are the children of those die-hard Garveyites.

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[6]The issue of the site of the headquarters will be taken up later in this chapter.

[7]See First Regional Conference (hereafter FRC) and Second Regional Conference (hereafter SRC) Files, ACHA Archives.

[8]See 1979 Convention File, ACHA Archives. I was a delegate to the 1978 conference held in Kingston, Jamaica.

All accounts, written by friends and foes alike, have described the first international convention as a grand and highly successful affair. It is also regarded as the most memorable of these gatherings, although some may argue in favour of the 1929 convention. The first took place in New York City, and it lasted from Sunday, August 1, to Tuesday, August 31, 1920. The New York Times, which covered the proceedings of the opening night, estimated the crowd in Madison Square Garden at 20,000, with an equal number of "negroes" outside the arena because there was no space in the famous sports complex.[9] Under a very bold headline which declared that "CHEERING NEGROES HAIL BLACK NATION", this world-renowned newspaper reported that Madison Square Garden, "the great hall", rocked when the delegates yelled for a liberated Africa free "from the Straights of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope."[10] And Garvey had not even yet arrived!

The planning for this convention was done with meticulous care. A separate department was created months in advance of the opening date to coordinate all convention activities. It was run by an official with the title, Registrar of Conven-

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[9]August 3, 1920, issue.

[10]Ibid. The crowd was reacting to the rhetoric of these preliminary speakers whose major task was to prepare them for the main attraction, Marcus Garvey. The situation was tailor-made for the talents of this charismatic leader who, from all reports, including that of the N.Y. Times, did not disappoint the mammoth crowd.

tion, whose major task was to administer the budget set at $2,000,000. This Convention Fund, as it was officially designated, was to be raised by collecting money from each division. Special instructions were sent from the Parent Body to the various units, instructing the officers how to go about encouraging individuals to donate to the fund. They were also told how the money was to be sent to headquarters so that it would not be mixed in with the other remittances to the Parent Body.[11] It is not known whether or not the goal of $2,000,000 was realized. As for the contribution of the Montreal Division towards the Convention Fund, the available records show that $12.00 were collected and sent to the Parent Body.[12]

It will readily be agreed that $2,000,000 was a very large sum of money to be set aside by any organization for a convention, certainly one to be held in 1920. This sum looms even larger when it is borne in mind that each division was expected to take care of its own delegates' expenses.[13] This was not to be an ordinary, convention, however. As with almost all UNIA projects, it was to be staged on a grand and spect-

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[11]"Garvey to Montreal Division, March 26, 1920," First International Convention (hereafter 1920 C) File, ACHA Archives.

[12]"Parent Body to Montreal Division, June 7, 1920," Ibid.

[13]The constitution, Article II, Section 6, p. 32. The financing of the Montreal delegates would be discussed later in this chapter.

acular scale in order to impress his followers, who were expected to attend from all over the world, as well as others, with the power and potential of the organization.[14] Garvey certainly did not fail to appreciate the importance of such a showing for future recruitment drives.

He was aware that raising and administering such large sums of money constituted an almost irresistible source of temptations to individuals. As a result, he issued detailed instructions concerning the collection and remittance of money to headquarters. Each division was responsible for its collection lists which it received from the Parent Body. It was also called upon "to keep an up-to-date record of all monies received." The division had the additional responsibility of conducting itself in such a manner as to prevent any suspicion of dishonesty from falling upon the UNIA. Garvey warned that "everything" must be managed "in the right way, so as not to put us to any inconvenience or trouble."[15]

The antics of Secretary General H.M. Mickens may, at the time, have caused the Parent Body to view certain officials with suspicion. The secretary general had written the Garveyites of Montreal complaining that no remittances to the Con-

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[14]"Garvey to D.C. Govin, Feb. 15, 1919," HF 1. The Negro World, Jan. and Feb., 1919. A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 48-51.

[15]"Garvey to Montreal Division, Mar. 26, 1920," 1920 C File.

vention Fund had been received from that unit. In a postscript, Mickens asked that the envelope, bearing the response and, presumably, the donations towards the fund, be sent to his office with "Personal" clearly written on the outside.[16] It would be natural to wonder why such organization business should be designated "personal". When the office practice of the UNIA clearly stated that all "communications must be sent to the Association and not to individuals",[17] one has every right to question the motives of people like Mickens who would issue such contrary and suspicious directives.

As was mentioned above, the convention got underway on August 1, as scheduled. By the time it ended on the last day of the month, it had many achievements to show for its 31 days of intense activity. The hierarchical and central administrative structure was set in place. Among the offices which were filled were those of Potentate, Supreme Deputy Potentate, Provisional President of Africa and President General, the Leaders of American Negroes, of the Eastern Province of the West Indies, South and Central America, of the Western Province of the West Indies, High Chancellor, International Organizer and Chaplain General.[18]

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[16] "Mickens to Montreal Division, April 23, 1920," 1920 C File.

[17] This was written on the stationery of the Parent Body.

[18] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, pp. 278-279.

This convention also established a system of awards to be granted to those who served the cause with distinction. Orders such as Knights of the Nile, Baronetcy of Zambesi, and the Star of African Redemption, were bestowed on Garveyites who considered them very highly.[19] Many critics have tried to make fun of this award system, but Garvey made a more than adequate reply when he declared: "I am accused of creating Dukes, Barons and Knights. Who gave the white man a monopoly on creating social orders?"[20] The psychological advantages, which the UNIA enjoyed as a result of recognizing its people, cannot be overemphasized.

The delegates also fixed the salaries which the top officials were to receive. These ranged from $12,000, the annual pay of the Potentate, to $3,000, the yearly emolument of the Speaker-in-Convention. Garvey, who was elected Provisional President of Africa and President General and Administrator of the organization, was voted $10,000, the second highest salary and the same amount allotted to the Leader of American Negroes.[21] Such very generous salaries would later put the organization in legal difficulties when, because of financial problems, it would not be able to meet them[22]

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[19]They were proudly used by those people who received them. See UNIA letterheads.

[20]The Negro World, February 4, 1928.

[21]A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, pp. 278-279.

[22]Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 155 and 156.

The highpoint of the convention was reached when the delegates adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World which was sworn before John G. Bayne, Notary Public of New York County, on August 15, 1920.[23] This document began with a preamble, followed by twelve clauses which outlined the many and varied ways in which people of African descent suffered discrimination and injustice in the world. It concluded with 54 demands and recommendations intended to correct the situation.[24] It also instituted, inter alia, a national holiday. national anthem, and national colours for all Blacks.[25]

This declaration was drawn up after the delegates, who came from many countries including Australasia and South Africa, had described the difficult conditions under which they were forced to live. The atmosphere during these sessions were very tense and brought tears to the eyes of many a delegate. Mrs. Georgie F. O'Brien, who was president of the Ladies' Division, and one of the Montreal representatives at the convention, in writing about the process, declared that "men and women [cried] like babies."[26] The process lasted 5 days, beginning on the

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[23] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 143.

[24] Ibid., pp. 135-143.

[25] August 31 was the designated holiday, red, black, and green were the colours, See appendix for the anthem. Not all Blacks accepted these symbols.

[26] "O'Brien to Montreal UNIA, August 13, 1920," 1920 C File.

morning of Tuesday, August 10, and ending on Saturday, August 14.[27]

In addition to Mrs. O'Brien, Dr. D.D. Lewis, president of the division, represented the Montrealers at the convention. The available records show that the association paid $150.00 to its lady president and $145.00 to its president to help them defray the costs involved in going to New York. It is suspected that both delegates received the same grant, but the treasurer failed to record a $5.00 payment to Dr. Lewis, or may have done so under another heading.[28] Dr. Lewis did say, however, that he did not expect the division to pay all his expenses, but would be satisfied with $150.00.[29]

Once in New York, Mrs. O'Brien and Dr. Lewis found that their subsidy from the division was not enough to take care of their needs. One of the reasons was the fact that the Canadian dollar was discounted at the rate of 18%.[30] Prices also turned out to be higher than they had anticipated. Mrs. O'Brien, who stayed at the home of Marcus Garvey, 135 West 129 Street, was

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[27]"O'Brien to Montreal Division, August 6 and 13, 1920," 1920 C File.

[28]This could easily have happened since the money was not given in a lump sum. See Ledger 1, pp. 3, 5, and 7.

[29]"Dr. D.D. Lewis to Montreal Division, August 17, 1920," 1920 C File.

[30]Ibid. See, also, "O'Brien to Montreal Division, August 6 and 17, 1920," Loc. Cit.

unable to say what charges, if any, she would have to pay.[31] She made this statement in reply to a suggestion from the Montreal Division that she be careful with her expense allowance.[32] The lady president went on to say that she was "out of money", even though the convention had only reached the half-way mark.[33] Dr. Lewis stayed in another apartment of the same building, and was reponsible for its total rental cost.[34]

It would appear that the two official delegates were not on the best of terms. Whatever the reason, Dr. Lewis regretted the selection of Mrs. O'Brien as his partner. He wrote privately to E. Vaughan, secretary of the division, bemoaning the fact that he "did not insist upon two male delegates" because "the women are only in the way."[35] It is difficult to say whether or not this was simply a case of male chauvinism, as he did not elaborate on his rather elliptical remark. As a sign of displeasure with the lady delegate, Dr. Lewis reported "confidentially" that Mrs. O'Brien was lodging with Marcus Garvey and, as a result, "her expenses [were] not as great" as his own. He expressed doubt that the lady president would appreciate his

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[31] "O'Brien to Vaughan, August 17, 1920," Ibid.

[32] Ibid. The letter from the Montreal Division has not been located, but Mrs. O'Brien referred to it in her reply.

[33] "O'Brien to Vaughan, August 17, 1920," Ibid.

[34] "Dr. Lewis to Vaughan, August 17, 1920," Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

spying on her, but he left it up to the secretary to decide what use, if any, was to be made of the information.[36] Little did he know that Mrs. O'Brien had no intention of hiding this matter from the organization in order to squeeze a few extra dollars from the division, or for any other reason. As has already been pointed out, she had informed Vaughan that she was living at the home of Garvey who may very well have been returning a favour. It was at the home of the O'Briens that the UNIA founder had stayed the previous year when he visited Montreal to fulfill a speaking engagement.[37]

Adding to the conflict between the two official representatives was the presence, at this congress, of Mr. Alfred Potter, a leading active member of the division and a future president. He had paid his own way to be a part of this historic occasion, although, from all appearances, he had missed the dramatic opening sessions.[38]

Potter kept up correspondence with Vaughan, providing the Montreal Division with valuable information about the work of the convention. He sent back to Montreal copies of the daily bulletins, which described what was taking place each day,

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[36]"Dr. Lewis to Vaughan, Aug. 17, 1920," 1920 C File.

[37]"Garvey to Montreal Division, Dec. 29, 1919," HF 1. Of course, Mrs. O'Brien may have had to pay some money to Garvey so that Dr. Lewis' assumption may have been erroneous.

[38]"Potter to Vaughan, Aug. 27, 1920," 1920 C File.

and which was issued to the delegates. He asked Secretary Vaughan to post them in Liberty Hall, Montreal, "for the benefit of the members." Other interesting and valuable documents also forwarded by Potter included the results of various UNIA elections and, in some cases, the actual ballot sheets. As for copies of the momentous Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, the unofficial Montreal delegate promised to mail them as soon as they became available.[39]

Examining the work of Potter, it would appear that he would probably have been a more useful delegate of the division than either Mrs. O'Brien and Dr. Lewis. As if determined to make this point, he assured the Montreal members that only the lack of time had prevented him from reporting "more fully" on the work of the convention adding, rather casually but effectively, that he supposed "your regular delegates [were] supplying the necessaries. I have seen them both."[40] One is left with the distinct impression that Potter had come to the opposite conclusion!

He even upbraided the division for failing to send a resolution to the Parent Body expressing deep appreciation for "the work advanced by Marcus Garvey." He had attended a general assembly where he had heard "words of greeting and appreciation

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[39] "Potter to Vaughan, Aug. 27, 1920," 1920 C File.

[40] Ibid.

from all parts of the world, but not a word from your local."[41] The efficient Mr. Potter found this oversight on the part of the secretary very difficult to accept because the division, before his departure for New York, had actually passed a resolution to send precisely such a message to the convention.[42] The reader would undoubtedly have noticed his use of the word "your" on two occasions when "our" would have been more appropriate: After all, Potter was not only a member of the Montreal Division but also one of its more active officers.

One must not get the impression from the above that the official Montreal delegates were not working. On the contrary, they led quite an active and constructive life during the convention, participating in several of its more important events. Mrs. O'Brien described the hectic pace at which they worked in this letter to the division:

> I am as busy as I can be[.] We have three meetings a day, a report at 10 o' clock in the morning[,] one hour for lunch[,] back at 2 o'clock[,] dismiss at 5 o'clock[,] back at 8 in the evening.[43]

Not only was the schedule tight, but the emotional drain on the delgates must have been considerable. The reader will recall her description of the charged atmosphere surrounding the

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[41] "Potter to Vaughan, August 27, 1920," 1920 C File.

[42] Ibid. No copies of Vaughan's reply to this criticism has been found.

[43] "O'Brien to Vaughan, Aug. 13, 1920," 1920 C File.

sessions which dealt with the Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World when adults were reduced to tears. At one stage, she was so physically and emotionally drained that she was forced to ask to be excused from one night's proceedings. The President General graciously granted her request.[44] Mr. Potter, to some degree, supported the view which Mrs. O'Brien had of the proceedings. In his letter to Vaughan he declared: "To appreciate the magnitude of this Convention one must see, not hear of the doings."[45]

Although he was more critical of what was taking place in New York, Dr. Lewis was one of the most active participants. He described the convention as being "cut and dried", and he felt that it was heading in the wrong direction. He also believed that too much time was spent on matters such as "framing the Bill or Declaration of Rights" at the expense of drawing up a "good and solid constitution."[46] The president of the division did not elaborate on what he meant by a "good and solid constitution". He must surely have known that the organization had such a document since 1918, and that it was due to be amended at the convention.

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[44]"O'Brien to Vaughan, Aug. 6, 1920," 1920 C File.

[45]"Potter to Vaughan, Aug. 30, 1920," Ibid.

[46]"Dr. Lewis to Vaughan, Aug. 17, 1920," Ibid. One gets the impression that Dr. Lewis was missing the real meaning of this convention. Potter and O'Brien seemed more in tune with the spirit of that occasion.

Dr. Lewis sent back two types of reports to Montreal: one for the general membership and the other for Secretary Vaughan with whom he seemed to have enjoyed a special relationship. The former, which was in the form of a "pep" talk to the members, hid his true impressions. It spoke vaguely about the difficult work which was being attempted at the convention which he described as "the greatest" which was ever held by "our race." In this letter, which was sent to be read at the SMM, he also alluded to the dedication of the delegates who came from all around the globe.[47] The other letter, intended for the secretary, conveyed his true impression of what was taking place in New York. Dr. Lewis "confidentially" reported to Vaughan that "things were not looking good by any means." He left it up to the secretary's "discretion" as to whether or not the board of directors should be informed about his true assessment.[48] Once again, one wishes that the president of the Montreal Division had elaborated on his cryptic remarks.

From the moment he arrived in New York, he had been fighting to redirect the conference. In his view, he did not meet with any great success, but he promised to do his best even though he was "sometimes ... ruled out of order."[49] In

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[47]"Dr. Lewis to Montreal UNIA, Aug. 17, 1920," 1920 C File.

[48]"Dr. Lewis to Vaughan, Aug. 17, 1920," Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

spite of his rather pessimistic view of his success at the convention, he is credited by one scholar with taking the leadership role in organizing and running the first crucial sessions of the convention. Because of this, he was ranked with such convention and UNIA giants like Marcus Garvey, Henrietta Vinton Davis, a leading Shakespearian actress of the time who was elected International Organizer, the Rev. James Eason, who was chosen Leader of American Negroes, and Bishop George Alexander McGuire, who was elected Chaplain General.[50]

Dr. Lewis had become sufficiently known and respected in convention circles to challenge Marcus Garvey for the key office of President General and Provisional President of Africa. The election was a straight two-way battle which was hotly contested. In spite of the stiff opposition provided by Dr. Lewis, the inevitable happened and Garvey was chosen by the convention.[51]

It has been suggested that the Montreal delegate believed that he was more suited to the post than the founder of the organization because he was born in Africa whereas Garvey was not. If this were, indeed, the case, then Dr. Lewis would have forgotten one of the key aspects of UNIA philosophy. This has been expressed by Marcus Garvey on more than one occasion

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[50] Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 112. Note that Eason later had a violent quarrel with the UNIA and was killed under mysterious circumstances.

[51] "O'Brien to Vaughan, Aug. 19, 1920," 1920 C File. Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 120.

and it deemphasized the importance of geographical origins. "I know no national boundary where the black man was concerned" was one of the ways in which Garvey expressed this philosophical tenet which was so dear to him.[52] With respect to Dr. Lewis' views on qualifications for that top position, it may very well be that his university education made him feel that he had another edge on his rival.

The Montreal president was subsequently nominated for the post of "Leader of Africa". He declined the nomination, with the rather inadequate explanation that he was "not interested in that."[53] Perhaps Dr. Lewis had realized the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of being effective in that role because Africa, for all practical purposes, was under colonial rule which, as was discussed in the fourth chapter, was hostile to the UNIA. He had also given no indication that he was prepared to return to live in Africa in the immediate future, and that was a requirement for the job. He did subsequently move to New York City where he settled.[54]

Dr. Lewis' strong showing against Marcus Garvey for the important position of President General and Provisional Presi-

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[52]A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. 1, p. 37. As was shown in chapter four, many black people did not necessarily share that view.

[53]"Dr. Lewis to Vaughan, Aug. 17, 1920," 1920 C File.

[54]See the Rehabilitating Committee Report 2, ACHA Archives, and interview notes.

dent of Africa would tend to argue against his charge that the "entire convention" was "cut and dried."[55] There was additional evidence to support the opposite point of view. Garvey, for example, had nominated a lawyer, Vernal Williams, for the post of Assistant President General. The convention preferred J. B. Yearwood, who was born in Barbados, but went to the convention as a delegate from Panama where he lived and worked.[56] There were also several run-off contests because candidates were unable to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in the previous ballotting.[57] Besides, many of the minor offices remained vacant after August 31 because the delegates were unable to arrive at a decision by that date.[58] Such situations do not occur in conventions which are "cut and dried."

It would be wrong to assume that this outstanding congress of black people was all work and no play. There was another side to it which can best be described as social. This included parties, banquets, balls, and parades. All divisions were specifically invited by the Parent Body to have as many of their members "present in New York City on Tuesday, August 31, 1920, to take part in the Monster Parade and Celebration" which would

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[55]"Dr. Lewis to Vaughan, Aug. 17, 1920," 1920 C File.

[56]Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 120. Vincent's information, in part, came from interviewing Yearwood himself.

[57]"Potter to Vaughan, Aug. 27, 1920," 1920 C File.

[58]Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 120.

serve as the fitting climax of the convention.[59] Not many people who saw the spectacle ever forgot it.

Perhaps the most satisfying social aspect of the congress was the renewal of old acquaintances. The Montreal delegates ran into friends they had not seen for many years, and were glad to learn of developments with the individuals themselves as well as to get news about their native land. Mr. Potter, for example, "had the pleasure of seeing" Mr. H. Cox.[60] The latter was the third person to hold the presidency of the Montreal Division, and was one of its original members. He represented Detroit at the convention. With such important diversions to refresh them after their rounds of meetings, seminars, rushed meals, and short sleeping hours, it is no wonder that the Montreal delegates were able to appear "hail and strong" even as the convention was coming to a close.[61]

While receiving the reports which the delegates, official and otherwise, brought back to the division, the Montreal Garveyites must have been satisfied with the work of their representatives. While it was true that their president had failed in his bid to become the leader of the entire UNIA, he came close

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[59] "Parent Body to Montreal Division, Aug. 26, 1920," 1920 C File.

[60] "Potter to Vaughan, Aug. 30, 1920," Ibid.

[61] Ibid. Of course, the satisfaction of a job well done must have served as a tonic to those delegates during the dying stages of the convention.

to performing the almost impossible task of defeating Marcus Garvey who was universally known within the organization before the convention was even underway. In any event, placing second to such a personality could hardly have been considered a disgrace. His strong showing in the race with Marcus Garvey is clear evidence that his leadership role at the beginning of the convention must have been outstanding. It is to the credit of Dr. Lewis that he did not go away and sulk, although he was disappointed over his defeat. Instead, he remained in the organization and, when it was in serious danger of collapsing after the death of Garvey and the antics of his successor, he was one of the dedicated members who tried to restore it to its pristine glory.[62]

The Montreal Division was also represented at the Second International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. It took place in New York City during the entire month of August, 1921. Alfred Potter, who was then president of the division, and W.G. Mackintosh, its auditor, were selected on July 17, 1921, to represent Montreal at this second convention.[63] Potter was designated the "official" delegate while Mackintosh was to be the "financial representative" whose "immediate duties" included

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[62]To be taken up in the next chapter which deals with the effects of Garvey's death on the organization and the attempts to "rehabilitate" it.

[63]Minutes of July 17, 1921, meeting, Special Minutes File, ACHA Archives.

discussing with "headquarters, in cooperation with our President, Mr. Potter, all or any matters of finance and routine" which were of interest to the division and the Parent Body.[64]

Competition to represent Montreal was rather keen. Perhaps the accounts of the previous year's convention created a desire in the general membership to be an active part in the second such undertaking. It reached the stage where one member, B.J. Spencer, actually wrote the Parent Body asking that the choice of Potter as delegate be nullified. Without going into detail about the reasons for his unprecedented request, Spencer merely alleged that there were irregularities during the selection process.[65] Replying for the Parent Body, Assistant Secretary General Yearwood informed Spencer that the majority of members had made their choice. Headquarters, as a result, could not "do anything to revoke the election" since the principle of divisional autonomy in purely local matters was well established and respected in the UNIA.[66]

Delegate Potter reached New York one week after the convention had begun. He took his seat on August 8.[67] The reason for the delay has not been discovered. Perhaps it was due to

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[64]Minutes of July 17, 1921, meeting, Loc. Cit. See, also, "Montreal UNIA to Parent Body, July 29, 1921," 1921 C File.

[65]"Spencer to Parent Body, July 19, 1921," 1921 C File.

[66]"Parent Body to Spencer, Aug. 29, 1921," Ibid.

[67]"Potter to Montreal Division, August 8, 1921," Ibid.

the fact that he was not issued any money until August 5, although the sum of $200.00 had been voted by the division for the official delegate as early as June 23, 1921.[68] Not only was the money not given to him at a reasonably early time, but the first instalment was for only $100.00.[69] In fact, he had to leave Montreal before receiving the full allocation. Needless to say, this must have constitued a problem for Potter who was a married man and father of young children. His job as a CPR Red Cap hardly paid a living wage,[70] to say nothing about permitting him to accumulate savings. Added to the above, he had, only the year before, paid his own way to attend the first convention in New York. He was probably still trying to recover from that drain on his personal resources. Once in New York, he discovered that the $200.00 allowance was inadequate. Furthermore, he was forced to ask the division to give his wife $75.00 of the $100.00 which was due him "as early as possible."[71]

In order to bring the division up to date on what had taken place at the convention prior to his arrival, Potter sent copies of the Daily Star which carried an "itemized account of the proceedings."[72] He later wrote letters which gave his im-

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[68]Minutes of June 23, 1921, meeting, Special Minutes File.

[69]Ledger 1, p. 31.

[70]In those days, according to Mr. Tucker, Red Caps did not even receive a wage. They had to depend on passengers' tips.

[71]"Potter to Montreal Division, [no date]," 1921 C File.

[72]"Potter to Montreal Division, Aug. 8, 1921," Ibid.

pressions about the convention. At one point he complained that the pace of the convention was too slow and that too much time was spent listening to the reports from the various divisions.[73] He did, however, derive some dubious satisfaction from the fact that the divisional reports made the Montreal unit appear to be in "perfect order" when compared with others.[74]

As with the case of the first convention, Marcus Garvey did not have things all his way. The Black Star Line, the ill-fated shipping company of the UNIA, took up considerable time. Other matters, which won the the attention of the delegates, included the high salaries which the previous convention had agreed to pay the salaried officers of the organization. Marcus Garvey, after he had presented his report, was questioned very closely by the delegates who did not omit the query as to whether or not those paid officials had earned their salaries. The President General, according to Potter, was forced to provide the delegates "with much information" on these subjects. The Montreal delegate was concerned with the attempt of Marcus Garvey to "have the power to veto questions in the Council." This suggested that he may have had **something to hide.** In summary, however, Potter expressed satisfaction with the answers provided by the Presi-

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[73] "Potter to Montreal Division, [no date]," 1921 C File. It will be recalled that Dr. Lewis had made the same observation with respect to the reports before the declaration of the rights of Blacks was adopted.

[74] Ibid.

dent General.[75]

The third convention, which was also held in New York City, did not attract a great number of delegates.[76] By 1922 problems with the Black Star Line, which smacked of gross mismanagement at best or colossal fraud at worst, had caused consternation in the minds of the most dedicated Garveyite, and distrust in others who had not been as ardent in their beliefs. Garvey and other officials were subjected to searching questions on the Black Star Line, and many delegates came to the conclusion that the answers were "evasive", and that the officials were trying to conceal damaging information from the convention.[77] This attitude contrasted with that of the previous congress when the general impression was that Garvey and his officials had responded satisfactorily to the potentially embarassing inquisition.

Compounding the difficulties which the Parent Body was having at the time of the third convention was the indictment of Garvey and three officials of the Black Star Line on the charge of using the U.S. mail to defraud.[78] This development

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[75]"Potter to Montreal Division, no date," 1921 C File.

[76]Cronon, Black Moses, p. 108.

[77]Ibid, pp. 96-97. Cronon related how a frustrated Los Angeles delegate, N.D. Thompson, formed a schismatic group after the convention, as a result of his frustration.

[78]A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, p. 150. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 101.

gave the enemies of the movement ample opportunity to press their attack against it and its founder-leader, and they did not fail to take full advantage of it. The press, especially the sector that catered mainly to people of African descent, increased its criticisms of Garvey, often behaving as if he were already found guilty of the charge. There was no presumption of his being innocent until proven guilty in a court of law as far as those critics were concerned.[79]

The Canadian representation at this convention mirrored the declining fortunes of the organization. At that time, 1922, there were 28 UNIA units in 8 provinces. Nova Scotia had units in New Waterford, Glace Bay, Sydney, Tracadie, New Glasgow, Halifax, Dartmouth, Truro, and Amherst. There were divisions in St. John, New Brunswick; Montreal, Quebec; and Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catherines, Niagara Falls, and Windsor, Ontario. In the west, branches were to be found in Winnipeg, Manitoba; Saskatoon, North Battleford, and Middleton in Saskatchewan; and Edmonton, Junkins, Donatville, Keystone, and Calgary in Alberta. On the Pacific Coast were to be found units in Vancouver, Victoria, and Prince George, B.C.[80]

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[79] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 101. Cyril Briggs, one of Garvey's severest critics, published a special bulletin which declared that Garvey had "defrauded Negroes with worthless stocks and fake tickets on fake steamships..." The case had not, at that time, reached the final stages in court.

[80] "George D. Creese to Montreal Division, March 10, 1922," Diplomatic File 2, ACHA Archives.

The 1921 census had placed the black Canadian population at 18,291 of whom 13,685 were listed as being born in Canada.[81] Even when allowances are made for the customary underestimation and an increase in numbers by 1922, it is plain that there were not too many Blacks in Canada at that time.[82] This makes the total number of UNIA units surprising, although one can reasonably conclude that many, perhaps, were not very large. According to T.G. Vincent, there were approximately 5,000 UNIA members in "Canada and Nova Scotia" during the peak years of the organization's history.[83] With approximately 28 units, this would mean that there was an average of approximately 178 members per unit.[84] Does this mean that about one-quarter of Canada's black population belonged to the UNIA, or was the census figure so far off? It is difficult, if not impossible, to resolve these questions.

In spite of the large number of units, the evidence suggests that only Montreal, Glace Bay and, probably, Toronto were able to send delegates to the third convention. The re-

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[81] Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. I, p. 560.

[82] The Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. I, p. 236 placed the black population at 19,456. It noted that "Negroes" were among the "oldest inhabitants of Canada", putting them in the same category as the "French, British, ... and Indian." The "only racial group" to "have declined in absolute numbers since 1881" was the Negro.

[83] Black Power and the Garvey Movement, p. 151.

[84] Martin, Race First, p. 16, wrote that, in 1926, the number was reduced to 15.

maining branches, especially those in the western provinces, lacked both money and enthusiasm.[85] The Montreal Division had suggested, for example, that the Canadian units hold a separate conference in order to arrive at a common Canadian position, if possible, before proceeding to New York. This suggestion was turned down by Commissioner Creese on the grounds that the "financial standing" of the divisions made its implementation impossible. The commissioner did propose, however, that the Canadians, who attended the convention, could meet before it got under way and, also, while it was in session, to "take up such matters as directly affecting the interest of the association in Canada - first, then universally."[86] It is a pity that the records did not reveal what some of these Canadian issues were.

In preparing to participate in the convention, the Montreal Division collected money in aid of a Convention Fund which was organized by the Parent Body. According to the records available, only $21.00 were remitted to headquarters.[87]

Arrangements were also made with the Rutland Railroad Company to charge persons going to the convention "a fare and

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[85] "Creese to Potter, July 15, 1922," Diplomatic File (hereafter Dip File) 2

[86] Ibid.

[87] "Parent Body to Montreal UNIA, July 31, Aug. 2, and Sept. 3, 1922" in 1922 C File. The Aug. 2 letter acknowledged receipt of the $21.00. Ledger 1 has recorded remittances to the Parent Body, but has not broken down the figures.

one half" if they bought "round trip tickets." These were to be on sale from July 28 to August 3 only, and were valid until September 6. Those members, who wished to take advantage of the special rates, were required to obtain identity cards issued by the convention secretary.[88] It is not known how many Montrealers went to New York, but Mr. Alfred Potter and Mrs. Georgie O'Brien represented the division.[89]

There is no record, currently available, of the performance of Potter and O'Brien at this convention. This is regrettable for many reasons. In the first place, indications before it actually got under way tended to suggest that there was some feeling among Canadian units that this country's Garveyites either had special interests to protect or a special Canadian point of view to bring to bear on points expected to be raised at the convention. Reference has already been made to the desire of the Montreal Division to have had a pre-convention Canadian meeting to plan a common strategy. Reference has also already been made to the counterproposal of the Canadian commissioner. The latter, who reached New York sometime in July, promised the Montrealers that he would "do [his] best as far as the interest of Montreal,

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[88] "City Passenger Agent to Montreal UNIA, July 11, 1922," "Reeves to UNIA members, July 15, 1922," "F.W. Ellegor to Potter, July 19, 1922," 1922 C File.

[89] "Creese to Potter, July 24, 1922," Dip File 2. Mr. Potter and Mrs. O'Brien reached New York after the convention had already begun. The reason for their late arrival is not known.

and Canada as a whole was concerned."[90] One cannot help but wonder what these special interests were.

In the second place, there was a concerted effort on the part of inveterate opponents of Garvey and the UNIA to reduce the effect of the convention, if not to disrupt it entirely. To this end they had planned to hold simultaneous meetings and rallies in New York City close to the venue of the UNIA convention. As if this were not enough, these critics, including people such as Chandler Owen, A. Philip Randolph, and William Pickens had launched a campaign to have Garvey deported from the U.S.A.: Their theme was: "Garvey Must Go."[91] Their attacks on the UNIA and its leader were so vicious that one can be certain that the replies from the convention matched their ferocity. Perhaps it was the preparation of the organization's response that caused Creese to write that fireworks were expected from this congress.[92] It would be most interesting to see the contribution of Montreal to this confrontation between the UNIA and the Negro American nativists.

In the third place issues of fundamental importance to UNIA philosophy came up at this congress. The role of religion

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[90]"Creese to Potter, July 24, 1922," Dip File 2.

[91]A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 101. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 106. See A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, pp. 294-300 for a continuation of this campaign.

[92]"Creese to Potter, July 24, 1922," Dip File 2.

in helping to enslave the minds of Africans arose when a religious group expressed the wish to give each delegate a bible. The convention took the opportunity to reaffirm the strong belief which the UNIA had in God and religion. It explained, however, that

> Africans at home, like Africans abroad, have grown weary and tired of that false brand of Christianity, which teaches humility and subjection to the white usurper and exploiter, who at the same time is demonstrating an aggressiveness and overlordship that is bewildering and disillusioning.[93]

The convention, while pointing out that its delegates were not "rejecting God's Holy Book," but "their brand of Christianity," advised the group to circulate their gift in "sections of the South, and ... among those obsessed with Race and religious prejudices."[94]

The question of repatriation also arose at this congress. In reply to the offer of the free bibles for each delegate, the members included the idea that Africa's true needs were people who, "in pilgrim fashion," would go to the Motherland and transform the souls and bodies of its residents to such a degree that "the world shall acclaim them."[95] There is no doubt that the convention felt that UNIA members were qualified to carry out that

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[93] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 104.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

role.

It was a message from the King and Queen of Ethiopia, which, among other things, invited UNIA members to "come back to the homeland," that really brought this matter to the centre stage of the convention. Bringing this message to the assembly was Mr. H.H. Topakyn, Persian Consul General who also represented Ethiopian interests in the U.S.A. Parts of what the "venerable and distinguished Rulers" said to the delegates were so much in keeping with UNIA philosophy that they deserve to be quoted at length:

> Kindly convey our greetings, congratulations and best wishes to the assembly. Here their race originated, and here it can be lifted to its highest plane of usefulness and honor. Assure them of the cordiality with which I invite them back to the home land, particularly those qualified to help solve our big problems and to develop our vast resources. ...
> Here we have abundant room and great opportunities and here destiny is working to elevate and enthrone a race which has suffered slavery, poverty, persecution and martyrdom, but whose expanding soul and growing genius is now the hope of many millions of mankind.[96]

It was little wonder, therefore, that the greetings from the Ethiopian monarchs created a "scene of a wild demonstration lasting ten minutes" with Marcus Garvey, "usually the personification of dignity," leading "the cheering."[97] That was what the delegates believed and that was what they wanted to hear.

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[96] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 105. Quoted from the New York World, August 29, 1922.

[97] Ibid.

Other aspects of the back to Africa philosophy emerged at this convention. The delegates were moved to send a delegation to the League of Nations to represent the interests of people of African descent at Geneva. The League was on the point of discussing the fate of the German colonies in Africa. In addition, a U.S. senator had proposed that the American government should take over these territories and settle U.S. Blacks there. The UNIA felt that it had earned the right to set up its proposed African home in the former German colonies. Its delegates, G.O. Marke, Deputy Potentate, W. Sherill, Leader of U.S. Negroes, James O'Meally, Leader of West Indian Negroes, and J.J. Adams, head of the San Francisco Division, and UNIA Ambassador to France, largely through the efforts of the Persian delegation, were allowed to sit among the official delegates rather than in the gallery reserved for unofficial representatives.[98] The UNIA petition to the League of Nations did not produce the desired results. This organization ruled, in 1923, the year after the petition was first presented to it, that nationals must make all requests through their governments.[99] One could see the British, U.S., and French governments making such requests for its black nationals!

Finally, as far as the redemption of Mother Africa is concerned, the 1922 convention agreed to support the loan which

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[98] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 100. The New York Post, August 14, 1922. Martin, Op. Cit., pp. 45-47.

[99] Martin, Op. Cit., p. 46.

the U.S. had proposed giving Liberia at that time. The delegates felt that, with all its weaknesses, Liberia represented a foothold for the black race in Africa and, as a consequence, should not be allowed to disappear.[100]

The convention also dealt with the question of lynching in the U.S.A. This was brought to the forefront because Rep. L. C. Dyer of St. Louis, Missouri, had introduced a bill, the previous year, into the House of Representatives, on the question. This bill called for assuring "persons within the jurisdiction of every state the equal protection of the laws," and for punishing those responsible for "the crime of lynching."[101]

As would be expected, this legislative measure was of great significance to American Blacks, and was hotly debated during that time. The UNIA had first supported the Dyer bill, but it came to the conclusion that it would be, at best, a temporary solution to the problem. The convention felt that only when Blacks were powerful enough, in their own nation-state, to demand the respect of other nations, that crimes against people of African descent, including lynching, would be stopped.[102]

What was the position of the Montreal delegation on on these issues? Did they believe that Canadians had a different

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[100] See "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS", an August 14, 1922, report in the New York Post quoted in A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 106-107.

[101] J.H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 362.

[102] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 107.

approach to these problems, or even different interests? On the question of Africa for the Africans, it is known that the Montreal Division believed firmly in that philosophy. One suspects, however, that the debate over the anti-lynching bill probably left the Canadians cold. This assumption is made on the grounds that, while Canadian Blacks suffered from prejudice and discrimination, such barbarities as lynching were not a part of their experience. In addition to this fact, it seems as if Canadians of African descent take pride in showing that there is a difference between Canadian and U.S. racism. One could almost hear them saying, with respect to lynching, "we do not have those things in Canada." Finally, the anti-lynching debate ended up as one of the contentious arguments between the NAACP and the U.S. Garveyites.[103] As was shown in the chapter on the philosopy of the organization, the Montreal Division tended to regard such differences as domestic and private quarrels among various branches of the Black U.S. family.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the 1923 convention was cancelled when Garvey was imprisoned and could not get bail in time to preside over it. The cancellation took place at the last moment, after much preparation had already been made.[104] As far as the 1924 convention is concerned there

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[103] Martin, Race First, p. 277.

[104] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, pp. 173 and 177. Cronon, Black Moses, p. 134.

is no available evidence to show whether or not the Montreal Division sent a delegation.[105]

The fifth convention, which was held in Detroit in March, 1926, while Garvey was incarcerated in the Toombs Prison, Atlanta, Georgia, attracted only a few divisions. The various problems of the organization, including the imprisonment of its leader, had resulted in declining membership and enthusiasm among the units. This was reflected in the low attendance at this convention. Mrs. Clara De Shields, President of the Ladies' Division, represented Montreal and, in keeping with established practice, was given "financial support."[106]

Before leaving for Detroit, Mrs. De Shields was given specific suggestions to put before the convention. These included the idea, quite novel to the UNIA up to that point at least, that less publicity be given to "certain matters" pertaining to the organization. The minutes do not spell out what was meant by "certain matters" so that one can only speculate on the areas embraced by this phrase. The delegate was also instructed to try and convince the convention of the need to have all UNIA funds handled by specified officials at the Parent Body, and not routinely by individuals. The third point, which Mrs. De Shields was required to impress upon that "emergency convention", dealt

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[105] No minutes, reports or other documents are available. The ledgers do not show any funds given to delegates.

[106] This was decided at a regular monthly meeting held on March 10, 1926. See MB 1, p. 4.

with the size of the administrative staff of the Parent Body. It was to be suggested to the convention that this staff be reduced to the president general, a president, treasurer, and a secretary.[107] This was clearly a move to cut cost, and it was probably motivated by the fear that the problems of the organization would result in huge reductions in UNIA revenues. It was also in line with Garvey's position on the matter. As early as the 1921 convention, he had pointed out that the salaries paid the officials were too high especially when their service to the organization, in the majority of cases, was taken into consideration.[108]

On her return from Detroit, Mrs. De Shields submitted a report to the division. It is regrettable that the details of this report were not recorded by the secretary of that meeting, because no copy of it has been located.[109] It is quite possible that the delegate may have made a verbal report to the members. Described as "very satisfactory", it did raise one question which the secretary considered worthy of the records. Mr. Potter wanted to know why this emergency meeting was elevated to the status of an "International Convention" of the UNIA.[110] Without

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[107] MB 1, p. 4.

[108] A.J. Garvey, Phil. and Opin., Vol. II, pp. 277-279.

[109] MB 1, p. 6. This meeting was held on April 14, 1926.

[110] Ibid., p. 5.

recording the reply which Mrs. De Shields gave, the secretary merely wrote that Mr. Potter received an explanation.[111] It can only be hoped that he was satisfied with it. The minutes did record that Mrs. De Shields received a unanimous vote of thanks from the members "for the valuable service" which she had rendered to the organization at the Detroit convention.[112]

From the history of the UNIA it is known that the first suggestion of the Montreal Division was adopted by the convention. This is not to say that one can be certain that it was the Montreal delegate who introduced it to the Garveyites; however, the representatives did agree to proceed more slowly and quietly with future plans of the organization.[113] The third suggestion, from all appearances, if introduced to the convention, must have been rejected. Secretary General G.E. Carter told the meeting that there were 814 U.S. divisions, 215 from other countries, 91 "new" units, and 25 applications awaiting charters.[114] With such numbers, whether inflated or not, it would have been difficult to convince the delegates that slashing the staff of headquarters was indicated. With respect to the handling of funds at the Parent Body, it was probably felt that this matter was already adequately

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[111] MB 1, p. 6.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 139.

[114] The Negro World, March 27, 1926.

provided for by the rules of the organization. What was probably lacking was implementation of old regulations and not introduction of new ones.

Before she had presented her report, Mrs. De Shields had submitted a written statement showing the amount of money which she had received from the organization in order to attend the convention. Once more the researcher is frustrated, as this statement could not be located, and the minutes, which made mention of it, have given no details of its contents. The records do reveal, however, that Mrs. De Shields did receive $47.00 from the division.[115] If this sum represented her total allotment, it was clearly inadequate and considerably smaller than the grants made to delegates who attended the previous conventions.

Apart from the size of the grant (if that was the total received by Mrs. De Shields), another note-worthy feature was the manner in which it was raised. The division solicited financial help which represented a marked departure from the previous method. This consisted in taking the required sum from the association's account. With its books showing a balance of only $149.00,[116] however, the organization must have felt that it had no choice but to appeal to the general public for help.

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[115] MB 1, p. 5.

[116] Ibid., p. 6. This figure represented the operational account only and did not include the Building Fund which, at that time, stood at $472.09.

Three years were to elapse before the UNIA held another International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. This was the well-known and crucial sixth convention, and it took place in Kingston, Jamaica, in August of 1929. It was a pivotal gathering because it brought into the open and made permanent the schism which had been developing in the organization almost from the moment that Garvey was first incarcerated.[117]

This split, which accelerated the decline of the UNIA, occurred ostensibly as a result of the debate over the location of the organization's headquarters. Some delegates from the U.S. felt that the original site, New York City, where the organization was incorporated in 1918, should retain that status. They argued, with a great degree of justification, that the largest number of units and members and the greatest amount of financial contributions came from the U.S., with New York among the leading groups. As a result, they felt that Harlem, capital of Black America, should remain the site of the Parent Body.[118]

The other side to the argument centred around the immigration status of Garvey. Having been deported from the U.S., the American authorities seemed determined to keep him out of that country on a permanent basis. To have the headquarters of an organization in a location inaccessible to its leader was,

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[117] Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 153-154 and 160-161. Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 208. Martin, Op. Cit., p. 18.

[118] Ibid.

in the opinion of those who supported Kingston, Jamaica, for the location of the Parent Body, unthinkable.

Compromise between the two points of view became impossible, especially after Garvey delivered a speech in which, inter alia, he made a scathing attack on some of the delegates. He accused them of dishonesty and corruption, saying that these shortcomings had contributed to the bankruptcy of the organization and to the imprisonment of its leader. He alluded to the intrigues which took place during his stay in the Atlanta penitentiary, and he underscored the fact that some of the officials continued to demand their salary, even though they were aware that the coffers of the UNIA were practically empty. In contrast, he reminded the convention that, more often than not, he discharged his duties and carried out his responsibilites for prolonged periods without receiving any salary and, sometimes, not even adequate money to cover his expenses. Such unpleasant statements undoubtedly made it impossible for many persons, who felt that an accusing finger was pointing in their direction, to support Garvey's stand that the headquarters should be Kingston.[119]

Another factor, which contributed to the schism, was the old problem of nativism, the distrust, sometimes bordering on hatred, of the person of foreign birth. Vincent euphemistically referred to it as a struggle between the "regionalists

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[119] See Nembhard, Op. Cit., pp. 146-147 where Garvey's speech is quoted at great length. Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 153-154.

and the internationalists" of the organization.[120] As was discussed earlier, Garvey's more uncompromising critics used the fact that he was not born in the U.S. to try and discredit him in the eyes of native Americans. There is little doubt that the Jamaican was not altogether trusted by some of his U.S. followers because of his foreign birth. It cannot be stressed too strongly, however, that among the staunchest supporters of Garvey were U.S.-born Blacks, and that the majority of the U.S. divisions remained loyal to him after the schism. In order to distinguish themselves from the schismatics, they reorganized themselves and assumed the new name, the "Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, August 1929, of the World."[121] New charters were issued to all the loyal units. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that the Garvey faction retained control of the Negro World, that influential organ of the UNIA.[122]

The Montreal Division was represented at this convention by Mr. Alfred Potter. He was chosen in competition with Rev. Charles Este, the chaplain, and Mr. V.P. Chambers, the assistant secretary.[123] This decision to send a delegate was not an easy

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[120] See his Black Power and the Garvey Movement, p. 208.

[121] Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 153-154. The other units conitnued to use the charters which were granted them under the 1918 incorporation of the original UNIA.

[122] Martin, Op. Cit., p. 18.

[123] MB 1, p. 142.

one for the division to make. Money was a major problem for its members, and the expenses involved were very high. Although the convention call went out early in the year, it was only in July, one month before the gathering was due to begin, that serious planning to participate got underway.[124]

It was first suggested that Montreal join forces with Toronto and send one delegate in order to reduce cost. This idea was abandoned as the Toronto Division was slow to react and time was getting rather short. The executive was then empowered to withdraw $200 "from the treasury" to help pay the costs involved in sending Potter to Jamaica.[125] According to available records, Potter received a total of $305.75 from the division. Of this amount, $223.25 were collected from members and supporters in a direct appeal for assistance.[126] The delegate travelled to New York by train and, from there, journeyed to Jamaica by boat.[127]

This, the first international convention of the UNIA to be held in the land of Garvey's birth, was a grand affair. It reminded delegates of the first such event which was held in New York 9 years. previously. Representatives came from North

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[124] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 202, for convention call.

[125] MB 1, p. 144.

[126] Ledger 2, pp. 101,103,105,107,109,200. See subscription lists and circular letters in 1929 C File, ACHA Archives.

[127] MB 1, p. 151.

America, the Caribbean, Latin America, and other far-flung regions. The public ceremonies were attended by thousands of people who enjoyed all the pomp and pageantry usually associated with successful UNIA conventions.[128] People still remember the spectacle of Madame De Mena, at the head of the parade, astride her white charger, on the streets of Kingston.[129] The organization may have been on the threshold of splitting into two units, but most of the spectators did not realize this at the time. To the masses on the streets of the Jamaican capital, in the open-air stadium at Edelweiss Park where some of the ceremonies took place, or at Liberty Hall, this convention marked a return of a famous son who had made a name for himself in foreign lands. Cronon came very close to the truth when he wrote that, finally, "Marcus Garvey was received with honor by the Negro, colored, and white aristocracy of his homeland."[130]

Apart from the crisis over the location of the organization's headquarters, this convention tackled other items of consequence. There was the traditional demand for African redemption coupled with a discussion of the conditions under which

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[128] Nembhard, Op. Cit., pp. 143-150. Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 151-153.

[129] Miss Lucille Iris Patterson recounted, with pride, the highpoints, including this spectacle, to the writer at the 1978 conference in Jamaica.

[130] See Black Moses, p. 151. The manner in which Garvey was subsequently treated by the Jamaican "colored and white aristocracy" accounts for my qualification of Cronon's statement.

people of African descent throughout the world lived. Diplomatic representation for Blacks in various capitals of the world as well as at the League of Nations was discussed. Also considered was the establishment of three universities, with engineering faculties, in the U.S., the West Indies, and West Africa. The delegates went on to discuss the creation of economic opportunities for Blacks, the acquisition and control of lands for the carrying out of scientific studies in agriculture, the establishment of new shipping companies, and the founding of newspapers in the major cities of the world.[131] In a debate with Otto Huiswood, an official of the American Labor Congress, Garvey reiterated the philosophy that people of African descent must develop themselves economically to the point where they became independent of others for their livelihood.[132]

Once again, one is at a loss to know the precise contribution made by the Montreal delegate to the deliberation of these important questions. Potter did present a report to the division on his return, but it has not been located. (One suspects that it was more than a verbal presentation). Fortunately, the secretary did record, in the minutes of a business meeting, a "brief outline" of the delegate's report.[133] At a subsequent meeting,

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[131] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 202-203.

[132] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 152.

[133] MB 1, p. 149.

Potter did present a financial statement which showed that he returned $13.00 which were left over from his allotment.[134]

At the convention, the Montreal delegate seemed to have stressed that aspect of the agenda which addressed itself to the development of businesses among Blacks. Apart from this being one of the cherished dreams of the division, Potter, himself, had been involved in setting up small business ventures in Montreal.[135] He observed that there was great potential for trade between Montreal and the West Indies, particularly Jamaica. He recommended that a special business committee be formed to investigate this matter more thoroughly, and this was unanimously accepted.[136]

On the question of the location of the headquarters and the schism of the UNIA, Potter appeared to have taken the side of the President General. This was to be expected from the representative of a division which, in the words of Ethel Collins, that indefatigable worker and staunch Garveyite who later rose to the position of Secretary General, had "always been loyal to the Parent Body."[137] Montreal chose to affiliate itself with the Garvey faction, thereby becoming Division No. 334 instead of No.

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[134] MB 1, p. 151.

[135] See Eureka Association File, ACHA Archives. This was an association of black people interested in business.

[136] MB 1, p. 150.

[137] "Collins to Montreal Division, August 13, 1940," Ethel Collins File, ACHA Archives.

5, its designation given by the original organization. Its new charter was issued, finally, on January 8, 1931.[138]

The available records do not tell whether or not Montreal was represented at the Seventh International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. This was held in August, 1934, and, like the previous one, the venue was Kingston, Jamaica. References to it are very scarce in the available records. One took the form of a suggestion made at a meeting to the effect that the President General be requested to send the division "a report of the outcome" of this convention.[139] It would be reasonable to assume that this suggestion would not have arisen had the division sent a delegation to the congress. As has been seen above, the Montreal representatives at previous conventions did submit reports of one kind or another on their return.

The fact that the financial records of the division do not show that any money was allocated to a delegate tends to support the suspicion that Montreal did not attend this congress. Garvey, himself, three years afterwards, made a statement supporting this suspicion. At a meeting held in Liberty Hall, 710 Georges Vanier Street, on Sunday, August 22, 1937, the President General upbraided the Montreal executive with the following

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[138] MB 1, p. 168. "Madame de Mena, International Organizer, to Montreal Division, March 16, 1931," Dip File 3. The members became quite angry over the delay.

[139] MB 2, p. 83.

remark:

> If [my emphasis] you were represented at the 1934 Convention in Jamaica and your delegate [had] made a proper report, it would have been a matter of record that .... each division would modify the death grant in keeping with its strength of membership.[140]

Garvey was responding to a comment to the effect that some members felt that death benefit payments would not be made to their next of kin. The sterness in Garvey's reply was undoubtedly due to his sensitiveness on the death fund issue. It may also have been the result of his disappointment over the small number of units represented at this conference.[141] It seemed more than likely that the Montreal Division, reeling from the devastating effects of the depression, contributed to the disappointment of the President General by not sending a delegation to Jamaica.

Prior to the eighth and final convention to be held before the death of Marcus Garvey, two North American regional conferences were held. These took place in Toronto; the first in 1936 and the second in 1937. As was mentioned above, these were very important meetings because they afforded the President General the opportunity to have face-to-face discussions with his U.S. supporters. He was not able to enter the U.S.A. because of his immigration status, but his followers from that country could cross the U.S.-Canadian border to confer with their leader. As a

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[140] See 1934 Convention File, ACHA Archives.

[141] Cronon, Great Lives Observed, p. 18, Black Moses, p. 160.

result of this role, it is difficult to underestimate the importance of Canada and Montreal to the survival of the UNIA. This was, indeed, one of the crucial periods in its history, and the units in this country performed the important role of continuing the physical link between Garvey and the American Divisions.

Although these North American regional conferences were held in Toronto, the Montreal Division had a hand in helping to organize, publicize, and to stage them. Garvey himself had written the Montrealers asking them to play their part in ensuring the success of these meetings.[142] His faithful followers in this city did not let him down.

E.J. Tucker, who was now the president of the division, and Z. Chambers, its secretary, were chosen to represent Montreal at the first of these two conferences. They were given specific instructions as to the points they were to introduce at the sessions. These included the problems involved with death dues and grants as well as with various investments which divisions were then contemplating. They were also to recommend that both the treasurer and secretary of the Parent Body be bonded to ensure that, in the future, orders to the divisons were sent under

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[142] "Garvey to Montreal Division, July 17, 1936," North American Regional Conference (hereafter NARC) File 1, ACHA Archives, and "Garvey to Montreal Division, May 17, 1937," NARC File 2, ACHA Archives. For the second conference, Garvey even sent along sample "handbills" which he asked the division to reproduce and distribute. NARC File 2.

"cover instead of through the press or magazine."[143] The Montrealers also wished to find out the views of their colleagues with respect to the purchase of a building "at this time", with the western world in the grips of a depression.[144]

Delegates Tucker and Chambers brought back a rather lengthy written report which is valuable because it serves to supplement the scant information available on the proceedings of this conference.[145] As the key word was confidentiality, with all delegates being required to take an oath of secrecy before being allowed to participate in the deliberations, little is available on the work of this congress. It seemed as if the organization had agreed with the suggestion, advanced by Montreal, that the time had come for it to be more judicious and discreet in what it announced to the world about its ideas and programme. Nothing was to be said to the public about its plans until they had reached the stage where they could be safely divulged.[146]

Garvey reviewed the difficulties which the UNIA had undergone. These included lawsuits brought against it by former offic-

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[143] MB 2, pp. 106-107.

[144] Ibid., p. 107.

[145] Only the Black Man magazine, Vol. II, July-August, 1936, seems to have carried published information on this conference. See Cronon, Black Moses, p. 163.

[146] The Tucker-Chambers Report on the 1936 Regional Conference, NARC File 1, ACHA Archives. (Hereafter the 1936 Tucker-Chambers report).

ials such as its first Supreme Deputy Potentate, G.O. Marke, for non-payment of salary.[147] The President General was glad to be able to announce that the Parent Body had met these financial obligations and was out of debt. The organization was in a position to commence work on the five-year plan which was adopted in 1934.[148] It was also prepared to initiate a programme for training its future leaders to ensure that "the right man" was "in the right place."[149]

Continuing his address to the delegates, Garvey warned them against communism, an ideology which, with its seductive teachings, was attracting certain Negro intellectuals. He asked them to avoid corruption and to send in their monthly reports to the Parent Body promptly and consistently. Garvey announced that the death tax was to be replaced by a charity tax, and the delegates were asked to ensure that members of their divisions were informed about this change and its full implications. The President General then declared that, unlike the behaviour of some former officials, he had decided to cancel all back salaries to which, according to him, he was entitled to receive from the organization.[150] As was seen earlier in this chapter, the delegates

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[147] 1936 Tucker-Chambers report..

[148] This plan was adopted at the Seventh International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. See Cronon, Black Moses, p. 160.

[149] 1936 Tucker-Chambers report.

[150] Ibid.

had voted him an annual salary of $10,000 at the 1920 convention.[151]

The conference also addressed itself to the religious and cultural debates which, at that time, were having a negative effect on the image and self respect of black people. It adopted a resolution which condemned the teachings and antics of the U.S. Negro leader, Father Divine, whose many followers claimed that he was God. In another resolution, the delegates criticised plays and movies such as Green Pastures, Imitation of Life, and Emperor Jones. The Garveyites considered them part of "an international conspiracy to disparage and crush the aspirations of Negroes toward higher culture and civilization," as well as "to impress upon them their inferiority."[152]

The second North American Regional Conference was held in Toronto from August 24 to 31, 1937. As was the case with the first such gathering, the Montreal Division helped with the organization, including the raising of funds.[153] Mr. E.J. Tucker was chosen, once more, to represent the Montrealers, and he was among the 400 delegates who came from UNIA units "in the United

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[151]The Tucker-Chambers report did not mention any rebuttal to Garvey's claims. This raises the question of how Garvey lived. He must have received expense money from the UNIA.

[152]The Black Man, Vol. II, July-August, 1936, p. 4, as quoted by Cronon, Black Moses, p. 163.

[153]"Garvey to Tucker, May 17, 1937," and "Garvey to Duke, May 25, 1937," NARC File 2.

States and Canada."[154]

The "principal item" discussed at this conference was the Five Year Plan which was adopted at the international convention held in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1934. It received the unanimous endorsement of this regional conference.[155] Two new auxiliaries, the Sisterhood of African Charity and the Brotherhood of African Fellowship, were founded. The members of both orders were required to be of good character and sound morals. They were expected to take charge of organizing local activities after they were suitably trained "in the service of the UNIA."[156]

This question of providing relevant and adequate training for potential members of the organization received considerable attention at this conference. This was best exemplified by the decision to establish a School of African Philosophy. The first sessions were to begin immediately following the closing of the conference and were to end on September 30. Garvey was able to convince the delegates that lack of a trained leadership, more than any other single factor, was the reason for the difficulties in which the UNIA had found itself. The proposed ed-

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[154] Official Minutes of the Second Regional Conference of UNIA of Canada and United States (hereafter Official Minutes 2), p. 21, ACHA Archives.

[155] Ibid., p. 1.

[156] Ibid., p. 12.

ucational programme would go a long way in remedying that situation. As a result of this, great emphasis was placed on the development of character and the stressing of integrity as part of the curriculum. Garvey also pointed out the value of having an educated leadership by declaring that it was "an insult for ignorance to lead intelligence."[157]

The conference also paid some attention to the depression and its effects on black people. Delegate Arthur King of New York introduced the subject. Speaking on conditions in his city, while pointing out that he was convinced that similar circumstances occurred in other cities, King criticized the Works Progress Administration (WPA) of the New Deal for working against the black man. He reported that alien Negroes, who had been resident in New York for many years, were being deported through the efforts of WPA, resulting in the breaking up of families.[158] The problem of Blacks, who did not belong to the organization, soliciting for funds on behalf of the UNIA, was also brought up and discussed.[159]

The conference also had the task of deciding where the next International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World was to be held. The date, 1938, was already determined. Garvey sugg-

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[157] Official Minutes 2, p. 3.

[158] Ibid., See David A. Shannon, Twentieth Century America, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1969, pp. 381-384.

[159] Official Minutes 2, p. 3.

ested London, England, "if it were possible."[160] This did not receive very much support, as the delegates seemed determined to hold the convention in North America. The most popular cities named were Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and Cleveland. The Illinois capital received the nod, with Toronto as the back-up venue, should Garvey not be able to enter the U.S.A.[161]

On the issue of the President General's admission to the U.S.A, the delegates passed a rather artifical and peculiar resolution "petitioning" Garvey "to consent to return to America at the earliest date" as well as to give the conference his permission "to do all things necessary toward his return" to the U.S.A.[162] Continuing this flight from reality, the President General thanked the delegates, declaring that he "would accept the standing invitation."[163] It is a wonder that he did not ask for time to consider their petition!

A high-powered committee of 15, under the chairmanship of William Sherrill of Detroit, representing 9 states and having 4 future Presidents-General among its membership, was appointed work for the lifting of the deporation ban of Garvey so that he could return to the U.S.A. The American authorities were not im-

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[160] Official Minutes 2, p. 11.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

pressed by the pleas of this committee, standing firm on the decision not to allow Garvey to reenter that country.[164] As a result, the eighth convention was held in Toronto.

Before discussing this convention, the last to be held before the death of Marcus Garvey, two additional aspects of the conference will be considered. The first deals with the general tone of the meetings, while the second is concerned with the role played by the Montreal delegation.

With respect to the atmosphere which, from all reports, seemed to have pervaded the conference, it can only be described as conciliatory. Garvey, himself, set this tone in his preliminary remarks made at the opening of the second session (the first session was largely set aside for registering and swearing in of the delegates), when he declared that the UNIA had achieved a great deal, especially when one took into account its brief history and the many obstacles placed in its way. He noted that the organization had changed the minds of certain people, including Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, with respect to its philosophy. Garvey regarded this as being almost tantamount to a miracle because, not only was Dr. DuBois an inveterate enemy, but he was also more than fifty years old.[165]

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[164] Official Minutes 2, p. 12. The future presidents were James R. Stewart, William Sherrill, Thomas Harvey, and Charles James.

[165] Ibid. p. 2. Interview with Mr. E.J. Tucker.

In reading the report which Mr. E.J. Tucker presented to the Montreal Division on the proceedings of the conference, one is left with the feeling that Garvey had a sense of foreboding as regards his relationship with the UNIA. The President General, who had been leading the organization from the time of its establishment in 1914 until that day, a period of 23 years, expressed the desire to pass on the mantle of leadership upon the shoulders of another person. He wished to see emerge from the rank and file a person who could be trusted and who could neither be bought nor sold.[166] To such a one he would gladly hand over the leadership and retire to a life of quiet contemplation. He declared:

> No man lives forever and every year I grow older and more tired. We want to develop men of character so that members can find leaders of trust to take [over] where, and when needed.[167]

He expressed the desire to spend the rest of his life writing history, philosophy, and literature for black people. In this contemplative and conciliatory mood, Garvey spoke wistfully about the pressing need for love and harmony "amongst members of the organization" and all other persons of African descent.[168]

It is left to discuss the participation of the Montreal delegation at this conference. From the rather detailed hand-

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[166] Tucker's Convention Report August 1937, (hereafter Tucker's 1937 report), pp. 1 and 2, NARC File 2.

[167] Official Minutes, p. 22.

[168] Tucker's 1937 report, p. 2.

written report which Mr. Tucker brought back to Montreal, one would suspect that he was too busy taking notes to be more actively involved in the deliberations. This tends to be supported by the official notes which recorded only that Mr. Tucker did not have a report to present on the Montreal Division "because of circumstances." Without going into any details, the secretary merely continued that this "was confirmed by the President General."[169] The apparent silence of the Montreal delegate was also, perhaps, the result of the domination of the conference by the American Garveyites.[170]

Mr. Tucker was jointly responsible for the adoption of one resolution which will be discussed at some length because of its relevance to Canada. Moved by B.J. Spencer Pitt who, at the time, was President of the Toronto Division, and seconded by the Montreal delegate, this resolution underlined the differences in attitude between the U.S. government on the one hand, and the Canadian authorites on the other, with respect to their treatment of people of African descent.

In its preamble, the resolution noted that Blacks had been a part of the Canadian nation "for more than 100 years" during which time they "enjoyed the rights, privileges and just-

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[169] Official Minutes 2, p. 7. The reference is clearly to the low state of morale and the decline in membership which the Montreal Division was then experiencing.

[170] Confirmed by both Tucker's 1937 report and the official minutes.

ice of the nation—". It further declared that the Canadian government did "not indulge in any racial discrimination against the race" and had "no intention of doing so." It observed that Blacks had always been law-abiding and loyal citizens and would continue to remain so. The resolution then called upon the conference "to express its unanimous goodwill and gratitude" to all three levels of Canadian government i.e. municipal, provincial, and federal, "for the kindly protection they [had] always offered to the Negro." The resolution continued by expressing the thanks of the conference to "the peoples of the other races of Canada for all and every good treatment they have extended to the Negro race individually and collectively." The resolution concluded by instructing the secretary to ensure that copies were sent to the various governments and the "Daily Press."[171]

The reader can hardly be faulted for regarding this resolution hyperbolic. The researcher certainly did. In speaking to Mr. Tucker on this point, he reminded me that they had listened to the reports of the American delegates and had had many private conversations with them. In comparison to the stories told about the treatment of Blacks in the U.S.A. at that time, the Canadians were convinced that their resolution was more than justified.[172]

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[171] Official Minutes 2, pp. 17 and 18.

[172] Interview with Mr. Tucker. The contrast between Canada's handling of Blacks with the situation in the U.S. has always led to this conclusion. This was particularly so in the days when the Underground Railroad disgorged its "passengers" in Canada in the 1830's, 1840's, 1850's and 1860's.

The eighth convention opened in Toronto on August 1, 1938, in an atmosphere of great optimism. The regional conference of the previous year was "an overwhelming success"[173] and no one seemed too surprised or perturbed that the President General was still prevented from entering the U.S.A. At the conclusion of the convention, Garvey conducted his School of African Philosophy. He then made a tour of Montreal, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, before returning to England via the British West Indies. When he finally set foot on English soil on November 27, 1938, he had been away for 100 days.[174]

The usual careful and, to some degree, elaborate preparation for the convention was carried out. Promotional material was distributed far and wide, but most attention was paid to North America, the Caribbean and, to a lesser extent, Central America. As early as April, 1938, Garvey wrote Montreal and other divisions, "officially" informing their members of the coming convention. He stressed its importance by reminding them, inter alia, that the international convention represented the "governing body of the UNIA,"[175] a theme which he developed, at a later date, when he

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[173] The Black Man, Vol. II, No. 8, December, 1937, p. 6.

[174] Ibid. Among the graduates of the School of African Philosophy were Arthur C. Moore and Abraham R. Roberts of Toronto, Mrs. Elinor White and Mrs. Ethell Waddell of Chicago, Mrs. Sarah R. Isaac of Phil., and Messers Charles L. James, James R. Stewart, and Thomas W. Harvey. See Garvey's Voice, Nov-Dec., 1979, photograph on p. 6.

[175] "Garvey to Montreal Div., April, 1938," 1938 C File, ACHA Archives.

wrote the following:

> The Convention is the place where the executive authority governing the entire movement is set in operation and where laws are made for its international government.[176]

Montreal performed its customary role in helping to organize the event as well as working to have it as widely publicized in this country as the circumstances permitted. It printed and distributed posters and other promotional material which invited all members and friends of the organization to come and hear Marcus Garvey. These releases emphasized the fact that the President General would be coming all the way from London, England, to speak to his people and to participate in the events. "A glorious time" was promised "for everybody."[177] Two-thirds of a page were set aside in the souvenir brochure of the popular annual summer picnic to Otterburn Park of that year in order to advertize the convention.[178]

Once again the Montreal Division was represented by Mr. E.J. Tucker who submitted a written report of the proceedings.[179] Together with the November, 1938, and February, 1939, issues of The Black Man, Tucker's 1938 report constitutes a most import-

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[176] The Black Man, Vol. III, No. 2, Nov., 1938, p. 8.

[177] See pamphlets in 1938 C File and in Pamphlets and Flyers (hereafter P and F) File, ACHA Archives.

[178] See brochure in 1938 C File. Also, MB-2, opposite p. 124.

[179] Hereafter Tucker's 1938 report, 1938 C File.

ant source for the study of this particular convention which laid special emphasis on secrecy. Only a limited quantity of official minutes was printed, and they were meant primarily for delegates and their divisions.[180]

At this convention Garvey was unanimously chosen to serve another four-year term as President General. He then appointed Miss Ethel Collins of Jamaica and New York and Mr. Thomas W. Harvey of Philadelphia to the posts of Secretary General and Chancellor respectively. These "appointments were made with the greatest acclamation."[181] The constitution, which remained unchanged since the 1921 convention, was amended in Toronto. The most important change involved the troublesome Death Grant. The new provision called for abolishing this grant altogether and replacing it by an "international charitable fund for the burial of members who [were] financial with the movement." This was to be financed by a monthly contribution of 10 cents per member to be sent to the Parent Body by each division.[182]

The convention resolved to push ahead with the Five Year Plan as outlined in the 1934 convention, but which was largely neglected.[183] The School of African Philosophy received the full

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[180] The Black Man, Vol. III, No. 2, Nov. 1938, pp. 8-9.

[181] Ibid., p. 9.

[182] The 1938 Constitution, pp. 50-51.

[183] The Black Man, Vol. III, No. 2, Nov. 1938, p. 9. See The Blackman, Vol. I, No. 6, Nov., 1934, pp. 34-36 for this plan.

endorsement of the delegates. It was pointed out that its graduates of 1937 were already appointed UNIA Commissioners for various American regions.[184] Garvey, who served as Principal of this educational institution, emphasized that the very survival of the UNIA depended on a properly trained leadership. Preparing such potential leaders was the raison d' être of the School of African Philosophy.[185]

Following up on the suggestion which was brought to the convention by the Montreal delegation and which received the approval of that body, the President General urged the assembled UNIA leaders to work more quietly and effectively towards the achievement of the organization's goals. The days for the "house top speech" were over, and Garveyites were urged "to get down on the ground and work quietly."[186] One is almost tempted to write that it was a pity for the organiztion that its President General had not come to that conclusion twenty four years before that convention. Had he done so, the history of the UNIA might have been quite different.

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[184] See The Black Man, Vol. II, No. 8, December, 1937, pp. 4-5. Photographs of 8 commissioners are reproduced on p. 5. Arthur Clement Moore was appointed Commissioner for Ontario. He was a member of the Toronto Division.

[185] Ibid., Vol. III, No. 2, November 1938, p. 9.

[186] Tucker's 1938 report. Tucker, when dealing with this part of Garvey's remarks, claimed that he was actually quoting the President General. This is not too difficult to believe because Garvey made quotable phrases and Tucker had a retentive memory.

The convention came to a close on August 17, Garvey's birthday which, in 1934, was designated an international holiday for people of African descent.[187] The day was marked with events appropriate to the occasion. The "Chief", as he was affectionately called, was now 51 years of age and had less than two years to live. He had expressed his wish to have his remains returned to Jamaica, the land of his birth, for its final resting place.[188] Such contemplative expressions and emotional outpouring of love and affection for their leader, during the closing days of the convention, cause one to wonder if there was not a sense of finality, in the minds of Garvey and many delegates, about this Eighth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World.

From the above it can be seen that the Montreal Division played an active part in the international conventions and regional conferences held by the UNIA during the life time of Marcus Garvey. Beginning with Dr. D.D. Lewis and Mrs. Georgie F. O'Brien, President and President of the Ladies' Division respectively, who were the delegates to the first convention in 1920, to Mr. E.J. Tucker, who represented this city in 1938, Montreal made its presence felt in these high councils of the organization.

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[187] See special resoltuion moved by Delegate Grant of New York and seconded by Delegate Edwards of St. Andrews, Jamaica, in The Blackman, Vol. I, No. 6, Nov., 1934, pp. 25-26.

[188] Tucker's 1938 report, and interviews with Mr. E.J. Tucker.

This ought not to come as a surprise. The Montreal Division always had members who were staunch supporters of the philosophy of Marcus Garvey. Their dream was to see the ideas and plans of this leader of millions transformed into workable programmes. Since it was at these congresses that such plans were formulated and the entire organization managed, the Montreal UNIA took pains to ensure that it was in the middle of the action, adding its contribution to the well-being of the beloved organization.

In the following chapter, it will be seen that the love of the Montreal Garveyites for the UNIA and its founder did not cease with the death of this brilliant and charismatic man. The contrary seems to have been the case, as they continued to participate in various conventions, especially the ones which were called to save the organization from ruin at the hands of Garvey's successor, James R. Stewart, of Cleveland, Ohio.

CHAPTER VII

DEATH OF MARCUS GARVEY, THE REHABILITATING COMMITTEE AND THE MONTREAL DIVISION

On the night of June 10, 1940, Mr. E.J. Tucker received a telegram from London, England, saying that the "Chief" had "passed away" and that money was urgently needed to ship his body to Jamaica,[1] in keeping with his "last request".[2] Sad as it undoubtedly was, this news item did not come as a complete surprise to the Montreal Division because the President General had been ailing for some time.

On January 11 of that same year, Garvey had suffered a stroke which had left him partailly paralyzed. The Secretary General, who was resident in New York, had described his condition as serious.[3] A later message confirmed the bad news, describing Garvey as "dangerously ill, paralyzed, speechless."[4] His illness

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[1]Telegram 4, June 10, 1940, Death of Marcus Garvey File (hereafter Death File) 2, ACHA Archives.

[2]Taken from a speech given by Daisy Whyte, Garvey's private secretary who nursed him until the end, in Edelweiss Park, Kingston, Jamaica, on Jan. 24, 1945, Daisy Whyte File, ACHA Archives.

[3]"Ethel Collins to Tucker, Jan. 14, 1940," Death File 1.

[4]Telegram 2, Jan. 30, 1940, Ibid. It was the duty of Miss Collins to inform the various divisions. She received her information directly from Miss Daisy Whyte.

continued during the winter and spring, although he gave some signs that he was improving to a certain extent. Early in June, however, he suffered a relapse from which he never recovered.[5]

Not only were the members prepared for the demise of their "Chief" through his prolonged illness, but they had actually experienced the sadness of his death before it did occur. This was a result of the premature announcement carried in several news publications to the effect that Garvey had died in May. Cronon attributed this to the carelessness of a "London news service."[6] Secretary General Collins saw in it "a bit of propaganda ... to demoralize the membership of the organization, as well as to destroy its influence."[7]

Whatever the reason for this regrettable bit of journalism, reading his own obituary and seeing all the telegrams of sympathy from various corners of the world, in the opinion of Daisy Whyte and other devoted Garveyites, served to hasten Garvey's death. She wrote the following on the subject:

> As he opened all his letters and cables, he was faced with clippings of his obituary, pictures of himself with deep black borders; after the second day of this pile of shocking

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[5] Telegram No. 3, June 10, 1940, Death File 1.

[6] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 167.

[7] "Collins to Montreal Division, May 21, 1940," Death File 4. In her circular letter, Miss Collins said that the President General asked her to inform the UNIA divisions that he was "still carrying on work at Headquarters as usual."

correspondence, he collapsed in his chair, and could hardly be understood after that.[8]

Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, the grieving wife and mater dolorosa, made a much stronger case than the one advanced by Daisy Whyte. She accused the "stray reporter", who gave the erroneous news to the Associated Press that her husband had died, of causing Garvey's death. She claimed that this reporter was well aware that the report was not true, but "he wanted news - a variety of news, so he flashed a vague cable about Garvey's death." She accused the newspapers, which spread the falsehood, with complicity, since they did not take the most ordinary care to check the veracity of such a vague bit of information. The deeply-hurt widow continued:

> ... they quickly wrote his obituary, and some of them vented their personal spleen on him, knowing that dead men cannot defend themselves. The cables of inquiry did not affect him, but when the clippings from the American Press reached him, he read them and gave one heart-rending scream and lost his speech forever. He got a second stroke. "Cardiac failure" said the doctor. A broken heart says the layman. ... Reporter! Newspaper Editors and Mud-slingers! you have killed him, ...[9]

Mrs. Garvey certainly spoke for very many UNIA supporters on this subject.

Leading Garveyites, such as Pitt of Toronto and Tucker

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[8]Daisy Whyte's January 24, 1945, speech in Edelweiss Park.

[9]Message to August, 1940, UNIA Conference, Death File 4.

of Montreal, received several telegrams and other forms of enquiry concerning the erroneous newspaper announcements.[10] The situation developed to the point where the central body felt compelled to print a large poster denying the rumour and affirming that Marcus Garvey was still very much alive.[11] Ma[illegible]id as this episode undoubtedly was, it did have the effect of softening, to some degree, the shock which his followers, including those in Montreal, felt when they learnt that their leader was really and truly dead.[12]

With the removal of Garvey from the scene, the UNIA went through another very difficult period which led to further division in the ranks. The major problem centred around the post of President General. Certain divisions addressed themselves to the problem, tried to hold the organization together and to restore it to something of its former self. This process has been referred to as "rehabilitation". The Montreal Division was very active in the attempt to "rehabilitate" the UNIA.[13]

When Garvey died, his term of office as President General still had approximately 15 months to run.[14] The immediate prob-

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[10]"Pitt to Tucker, May 20, 1940," Death File 4.

[11]See Official News Flash from London, England, Ibid.

[12]This was confirmed in discussions with UNIA veterans.

[13]Hereafter "rehabilitate" and its derivates will be written without the inverted commas.

[14]The 1938 Constitution, Art. IV, Sect. 1, p. 7.

lem, therefore, which the organiztion had to solve, was finding a successor to complete the four-year term. According to the constitution, it was the duty of the first Assistant President General to carry out "all the duties of the President General in case of absence, illness, permanent disability or death" until a new person was chosen by delegates to a convention.[15] At that time, Thomas W. Harvey of Philadelphia, one of the first ten graduates from the School of African Philosophy, occupied the post of first Assistant President General.[16]

On June 11, 1940, Basil Spencer Pitt, President of the Toronto Division, wrote Harvey suggesting that an international convention be held in August or September of that year to elect the person to complete the term of the late President General. Pitt, who had sought the advice of his good freind, E.J. Tucker, and the Montreal Division on the subject, further suggested that the older of Garvey's two sons be chosen as the new leader. Since Marcus Garvey, Jr.,, was still a minor, Pitt felt that a committee should be "appointed or elected to act in his place and stead" until the youth reached the legal age of 21. The Toronto President was prepared to go along with any modifications to his proposals.[17]

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[15]The 1938 Constitution, Art. V, Sect. 15, p. 19.

[16]When Harvey died in July, 1978, he was President General, a post he held for many years.

[17]"Pitt to Harvey, June 11, 1940," 1940 C File, ACHA Archives.

If one were to believe the president of the Toronto Division, advancing the case for Marcus Garvey, Jr., was merely the result of his desire to show "gratitude and appreciation" for the work which his father had done for people of African descent.[18] While this may very well have been true, and Pitt's dedication to the Garvey family can never be disputed,[19] one suspects, however, that he saw this as one way of avoiding the almost inevitable and bitter struggle for the leadership of the organization. By arranging his neat little hereditary system of succession, with its regency and privy council allowing the ambitious the opportunity to wield some power, Pitt probably felt that the anticipated battle for the job of President General would be less disastrous, if not avoided altogether. Mr. Tucker went along with the suggestion even though he believed that Pitt was the most suitable person for the job.[20]

The suggestion to call an emergency meeting appealed to Harvey who, in a circular letter dated July 20, 1940, set aside August 17 to 21 "for an immediate conference of officials and presidents of the Association."[21] In addition to the question of

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[18]"Pitt to Harvey, June 11, 1940," 1940 C File.

[19]The voluminous correspondence between Pitt and Tucker, together with Pitt's actions, proved this. Mrs. Garvey was also convinced of Pitt's devotion.

[20]Interview with Mr. E.J. Tucker who felt that it was a serious mistake when Pitt did not seek the presidency of the UNIA.

[21]This letter is in the 1940 C File.

choosing Garvey's successor, Harvey saw this meeting as necessary and "in the best interest of the race" because the UNIA headquarters in London contained "a very valuable art collection and Negro library" which, as a result of Garvey's death, became the property of the organization as a whole. In order to preserve them, the liabilites of the London office had to be removed, and the conference would have to decide on the mechanism for doing so. The location of the Parent Body, which Harvey described as an "urgent matter", was also included on the agenda of that meeting.[22]

The Montreal Division, probably because of difficulties which it was experiencing at the time, did not send a delegate to this conference. It selected the Toronto president to represent it at New York, and contributed $20.00 towards the costs involved in Pitt's mission.[23] On August 10, 1940, the Montrealers informed the secretary-general of their inability to attend the meeting and on their choice of Pitt as their delegate.[24] On his return to Toronto, Pitt sent a lengthy letter of thanks to the Montreal Division in which he described, in great detail, what transpired at the emergency conference. It was clear that Pitt

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[22]"Harvey to all UNIA divisions, July 20, 1940," 1940 C File.

[23]"Tucker to Pitt, July 15, 1940," and "Pitt to Tucker, August 26, 1940," p. 1, Ibid.

[24]"Collins to Montreal Division, August 13, 1940," Ibid.

had intended his letter to serve as his report on the conference.[25]

His letter revealed that the Toronto president was quite pleased with the convention and highly satisfied with his performance in New York. Matters had developed in the manner which he had anticipated, at least as far as the leadership contest was concerned. There was a power struggle between the Garvey Club, Inc., of New York City and the Parent Body which, in his capacity of Chancellor of the organization, Harvey had moved, temporarily, to New York.[26] The Garvey Club had gone even as far as the organization of its own meeting, timed to clash with the emergency conference, under the pretext that the chancellor and secretary-general had acted in a manner contrary to the provisions of the constitution. Pitt reported that he had defused this potentially serious development and had influenced both factions to patch up their differences. The result was a single conference, the one convened by first Assistant President General and Chancellor Thomas Harvey.[27]

On the matter of choosing the person to serve out the remaining two years of the deceased Garvey's term as President

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[25]"Pitt to Montreal Division, August 26, 1940," 1940 C File. This was fortunate as there are no minutes recording the proceedings of this conference among the papers.

[26]This was endorsed by the conference. "Collins and James to all UNIA units, August 29, 1940," Ibid.

[27]Pitt's August 26, 1940, letter.

General, there was also the potential for a serious rift in the ranks of the organization. According to Pitt, he was successful in defusing the explosive situation before the charge could be ingited.[28]

Four persons, James R. Stewart of Cleveland, Ohio, Charles L. James of Gary, Indiana, Thomas W. Harvey of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Pitt himself, were nominated for the post. All four persons had strong support and came from divisions which were large and influential in UNIA circles. The first three, in addition, were among the first graduates of the School of African Philosophy which Garvey had set up to train the leaders of the organization.[29] In the case of Pitt, although he was not a graduate of that institution, the fact that he was a well-known lawyer invested him with great prestige in the UNIA. Besides, he was considered quite highly by Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey.[30] With such candidates for the leadership post fighting for that honour, it is easy to understand that a split would have almost certainly have resulted from a prolonged contest.

In his description of what took place, Pitt explained that his strategy was to prevent an open and sustained struggle for the

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[28] Pitt's August 26, 1940, letter.

[29] The Black Man, Vol. II, No. 8, Dec.1 1937. It is instructive to note that they all became President General eventually, James being the current leader.

[30] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, July 8, 1942," p. 2, Amy Jacques Garvey File (hereafter AJG File) 2, ACHA Archives.

post. In order to bring this about, he first declined his own nomination and, then, persuaded James and Harvey to do likewise. He did not describe how he got those two Garveyites to accept his scheme. Stewart was, accordingly, chosen by acclamation and was to hold the office of Acting President General "until the convention of 1942." He was free to run again for the office at that congress.[31]

Although his letter did not say what became of his suggestion that Marcus Garvey, Jr., be chosen to replace his father, Pitt, in a later correspondence, remarked that the convention had turned it down. He did not give any details.[32] In spite of this, he was able to satisfy his apparent desire to be kingmaker and UNIA saviour at the same time. His scheme for a hereditary monarchy may have failed, but his second scheme and alternative candidate were approved by the congress.

It was also decided to move the headquarters from New York to Cleveland if the new leader considered this "advisable".[33] It was fairly obvious that Pitt had privately urged Stewart to move the Parent Body because the Toronto President did not like

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[31] Pitt's August 26, 1940, letter.

[32] "Pitt to Tucker, June 20, 1941," 1941 Regional Conference File, ACHA Archives.

[33] Pitt's August 26, 1940, letter. See, also, "Collins and Harvey to UNIA units, July 20, 1940," and "Collins and Harvey to All Presidents of Divisions, July 20, 1940," Location of Headquarters File, ACHA Archives.

the situation which existed among UNIA circles in New York, and which he described as "simply a hot bed of politics and selfish manoeuvering for selfish aggrandisement." He informed the Montrealers that he expected Stewart to transfer the Parent Body from New York to Cleveland in "a few days."[34]

It is little wonder, therefore, that Pitt saw this conference as "an overwhelming success."[35] Not only was he a leading candidate for the top position in the organization, a post which was probably his had he wanted it, but he had succeeded in having his candidate chosen Acting President General. It seemed as if he were able to have his way in all the important aspects of the conference or, at least, to have had significant influence over the direction that they took. Contemplating his work in New York, the Toronto president and Montreal representative expressed the hope that

> the organization would take on a new life and that notwithstanding the death of our leader we would prove to him ... that the teachings and inspirations he left us would not die with him ... that all the divisions ... would endeavour to cooperate with the new president general ... that the work can be carried on even better than when Mr. Garvey was alive.[36]

How wrong a human being can be and how completely one could misjudge the leader of an organization, with dire consequences for

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[34]Pitt's August 26, 1940, letter.

[35]Ibid. Could Pitt's infatuation with his own political success have blinded him to any possible signs of future problems?

[36]Ibid.

the group as a whole, were both illustrated by the behaviour of Stewart once he was chosen to complete Garvey's unfinished term and once he had moved the Parent Body to his seat of power in Cleveland.

Within a year of his assuming the leadership of the UNIA, Stewart issued a call for a regional conference of "All Negroes" in the U.S.A. and Canada to be held in Cleveland from August 15 to 20, 1941.[37] The Acting President General had also decided to conduct a summer school for those who wished to become leaders in the organization. This educational programme would occupy the last week in August, and the fee was $10.00 per pupil. Entrance requirements consisted of "a high school education or facsimile."[38] One is left to imagine how these could be interpreted.

The Montreal Division was unable to attend this, the third North American Regional Conference of the UNIA, because of difficult circumstances brought about by the war. In his letter expressing regrets that Montreal would not be present, Mr. Tucker declared that circumstances were "not what they ought to be" because of the "crisis" which existed "in every land."[39] He promised to fill in the details in a letter to be written later.

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[37] Flyers advertizing the conference in 1941 Regional Conference (hereafter 1941 C File); ACHA Archives. See, also, "Stewart to Co-Worker, June 5, 1941, and July 19, 1941," Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] "Tucker to Stewart, August 6, 1941," Ibid.

Pitt was unable to be present in body, although he assured the delegates, in a long letter addressed to the President General and all participants, that he was with them "in spirit". Pitt made seven recommendations to the gathering in this letter and he expressed the hope that his ideas would be regarded as "simply being consultative" and recommendations "for consideration and discussion by the conference" and not as "authoritative".[40] It seems as if, after setting down, in strong language, the important points in his letter, Pitt began to realize that, perhaps, he was going a little too far. His disenchantment with Stewart, which he wished to conceal at that time and which had already begun, was making itself evident in this letter.

Stewart immediately saw through Pitt and refused to put the letter before the delegates. Instead, he addressed a strongly worded letter to Pitt, accusing him, although indirectly, of trying "to destroy his administration as well as to confuse minds against his efforts". This, Stewart went on, would only do harm "to the very thing" his detractors "profess to love." He condemned Pitt's suggestions as being "in complete violation of the Constitution",[41] saying so in such a way as to comment that.

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[40] "Pitt to President General and delegates and officers of Parent Body, August 16, 1941," 1941 C File. For Pitt's recommendations, turn to appendix section.

[41] "Stewart to Pitt, Sept. 11, 1941," Ibid.

one would have expected a lawyer to be aware of this. Pitt was obviously stunned by Stewart's reaction to his memorandum. He complained to his good friend, Mr. Tucker, that Stewart's "suppression and witholding"[sic] of his letter from the conference "was the most vicious and cowardly act that the President General could perpetrate." He asked Tucker to keep all things "strictly confidential" until they were ready to move against Stewart.[42] This was not too difficult for the Montreal president to do since he, too, had already developed serious misgivings about Stewart, and had cooperated with Pitt in drawing up the recommendations which the President General had found so objectionable.[43]

By the time the call had gone out for the Ninth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, between August 13 and 19, 1942, Stewart had succeeded in alienating a large number of Garveyites. His promotional material and advance notices for this convention showed that he had hoped to rekindle the spirit of the UNIA.[44] While this was laudable, one cannot help but wonder whether or not he was unaware of the extent of the distrust which his leadership had created in the minds of UNIA stalwarts.

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[42]"Pitt to Tucker, Sept. 18, 1941," 1941 C File.

[43]"Pitt to Tucker, Sept. 17, 1941," Ibid. The letter in fn 42 was a postscript to this one.

[44]See material in 1942 C File, ACHA Archives.

At the Cleveland convention which, among other duties, had the task of choosing the President General for the next four years, Stewart conducted himself in such a manner as to drive many veteran Garveyites into the camp of Pitt, Tucker, Capt. A. L. King of New York, Benjamin W. Jones of Philadelphia and other "loyal men and women" of the UNIA.[45] From the outset of the proceedings, Stewart had made it clear that he was prepared to go to any lengths to retain the top post in the organization. The nomination and electoral procedures, to say the least, were irregular and inconsistent with similar processes carried out at previous conventions. Stewart had the hall packed with his partisans who made sure that only those delegates who supported his candidacy were allowed to speak. Opponents were physically prevented from nominating their candidates. Stewart's supporters were not above brandishing bowie knives and other dangerous and offensive weapons to demonstrate their determination to control the convention. This resulted in striking terror in the minds of many delegates who felt that they had no choice but to get out of Cleveland as fast as possible.[46]

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[45] In a letter of advice written on October 6, 1941, to Pitt, Tucker used those words to describe the growing opposition of Garveyites to Stewart. Rehabilitating Committe File (hereafter Rehab Comm File) 1, ACHA Archives.

[46] Interviews with E.J. Tucker, Major Drake of Louisiana, a former officer of the African Legion, and Rev. J.C. Tucker, the veteran Chaplain General of the UNIA (no relation to E. J. Tucker of Montreal. See, also, minutes of Sept. 26, 1942, of Rehab Comm meeting, Ibid.

The irregularity of Stewart and his cohorts did not, of course, surprise the Montreal delegate, although the resort to violent tactics certainly did.[47] Both Montreal and Toronto, in fact, had prepared a document to put before the convention. This paper raised serious questions about the conduct of the President General. It was in the light of this and other information that Ethel Collins, the Secretary General, in her letter officially informing Montreal of this convention, wrote the following:

> Owing to the fact, that there has been much investigation of the administrator, and the Association; you and others, are requested to guard your deliberations in your Liberty Halls, for the best interest of the organization, and all concerned.[48]

The Montreal-Toronto position paper, which was prepared for the 1942 convention, was a result of those discussions.

The sections of this memorandum, which dealt with internal UNIA affairs, raised certain questions which were highly embarrassing to Stewart.[49] It wanted to find out why Ethel Collins, a dedicated and proven Garveyite, was summarily removed from her post as secretary general and denied access to the files and

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[47] Apart from interviews with Tucker, his identification card, showing that he was the "official delegate", is now in the 1942 C File.

[48] "Collins to Montreal Division, Jan. 8, 1942," Ibid.

[49] Foreign affairs issues called for demanding of the allies "an entrance to the sea" for Ethiopia, the placing of captured African territories under a mandate which included equal representation for Blacks, and the eventual recognition of these former colonies as independent states.

records of the organization. The document also asked why Stewart had not carried out the instructions of the 1940 Emergency Conference, particularly with respect to printing and circulating the minutes of that meeting, whereas he quickly did so with reguard to the regional conference which he had called the following year.[50] The memorandum also called for the establishment of a fund, to which all divisions would contribute, for the purpose of paying "a small sum" of money each month to Garvey's widow and her two sons. It advocated that the headquarters of the organization be moved back to New York, and that Stewart be replaced by "several committees," one of which would "decide upon the powers of the new President General and other officers of the organization."[51] Attempts were made to introduce this memorandum and to raise these questions on the floor of the convention, only to be frustrated by Stewart and his cohorts.

Some of the divisions which had become completely disgusted with Stewart, especially after the ill-fated convention, organized a conference in New York City during the fourth week of September; 1942.[52] The outcome of the meetings was the estab-

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[50] See Agenda Memo, "Pitt to Tucker, June 4, 1942," and "B.W. Jones of Philadelphia to Pitt, August 26, 1942," 1942 C File.

[51] Agenda Memo.

[52] The actual dates were Saturday, Sept. 26, and Sunday, Sept. 27. The venue was the Liberty Hall of New York's Central Division, 204 Lennox Avenue, Harlem, N.Y.

lishment of the Rehabilitating Committee of the UNIA and ACL, August 1929 of the World, to give this body its official title.[53] In the statement announcing its formation, this committee described itself as "virtually a posse of law abiding members" of the UNIA, determined to reclaim the organization from "the haunt and hiding place of Stewart at Cleveland", and return it "to its lawful owners and inheritors, the million members of the UNIA and the Negro Race."[54]

The indictment brought against Stewart were many and varied. He was accused of collecting money in excess of $16,000 during the two years when he was the Acting President General. This sum included contributions from individuals and divisions which were clearly meant to be sent to Mrs. Garvey and her two children in Jamaica. Others were meant to build up the Africa Redemption Fund, while some were to be spent on renting a vault in London, England, to store the body of the organization's founder until it was possible to ship it to Jamaica for burial.[55]

During those two years, Stewart had remitted only $50.00 to Mrs. Garvey, although the 1940 Emergency Conference had agreed to send her a monthly stipend of $75.00. Stewart, himself, in a,

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[53] Hereafter abbreviated as Rehabilitating Committee.

[54] The complete statement appears as "A Declaration" in The African World, May 1946, p. 16. This publication was the organ of the Rehabilitating Committee.

[55] Minutes of Sept. 26 and 27, 1942, meetings, Rehab Comm File 1.

circular letter to all divisions, had admitted that he was instructed by that meeting to look after "the up keep of the children of the late founder," This was used as the basis of his appeal to Garveyites everywhere to send him money so that he would be able "financially to consistently contribute to the support of the two children of our beloved and deceased leader."[56]

The Africa Redemption Fund fared even worse than the Garvey family, as Stewart had not set aside a single penny for that project.[57] As far as the rental of the vault to store the mortal remains of Marcus Garvey was concerned, the Acting President General reported that only $613.41 were received by him. This figure was immediately challenged because many representatives, who had sent in personal contributions and those of their divisions, were not included among Stewart's list of donors. His figure was even more difficult to believe when it was borne in mind that he had written both divisions and individuals asking for $50.00 from each in order to pay for the rental of the vault.[58]

Bad as this was, it paled into insignificance when it was discovered that the Acting President General did not even know where Garvey's body was stored. This meant, inter alia, that he

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[56]"Stewart to Co-worker, January 20, 1941," James R. Stewart (hereafter Stewart) File I.

[57]"Pitt to Tucker, August 27, 1942," 1942 C File. See, also, minutes of Sept. 26 and 27, 1942 meetings, p. 2.

[58]Ibid.

had been collecting money to pay for space in a vault, and had been making no payments towards that end. In fact, as a result of his failure to pay the rent, Garvey's body was removed from the vault and placed elsewhere.[59] It was only through the efforts of Pitt that the exact location of Garvey's body became known. In reply to written enquiries made by the president of the Toronto Division, the authorities at the St. Mary's Cemetery in London revealed that the remains of the UNIA founder were on their premises. Miss Daisy Whyte had reserved a vault there and had paid the sum of 21 pounds, 11 shillings (approximately $104,00) which represented the full amount required to store the body "in perpetuity."[60]

Talk about robbing the dead! Although payment was made in full and for all times, Stewart kept asking for money to pay what he called a "renewal" fee for renting the vault. In a letter to the Montreal Division, the Acting President General made one of his appeals. As the contents of this letter would reveal, it deserves to be substantially quoted.

> This is to remind you of the tremendous responsibility soon to come upon the Parent Body as per the disposition of the body of the founder and the president general of the UNIA, the Honorable Marcus Garvey.
>
> I trust that it is your information that his remains were placed in a vault in London, sub-

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[59] "Pitt to Tucker, August 27, 1942," 1942 C File.

[60] Minutes of Dec. 25, 1942, meeting, p. 2, Rehab Comm File 2.

> ject to renewal of the maintenance in June, 1942. [my emphasis]
>
> As a responsible officer of your Division, I feel I can depend on you to raise and forward to this office, for this purpose, not less than $50 by June 1, so that the Parent Body may keep its obligation to the race by the correct care of our leader until such time when we can remove him to Jamaica for burial as was his last request.[61]

He went on to suggest ways and means whereby the Montreal Division could raise the minimum sum of fifty dollars. He mentioned "parties, entertainments, or ... taxation on the membership" at the rate of $1.00 per month with a June 1 deadline.[62] As this was clearly a circular letter which must have been sent to other UNIA units, one can understand the extent to which Stewart went to defraud the members of the UNIA.

Although he had collected vast sums of money, there was hardly any accounting or bookkeeping on his part. It was even doubtful whether he had even bothered to open a bank account to keep the organiztion's money. After fighting to avoid having to present a financial statement to the delegates, Stewart forced Miss Collins, whom he had purged, to read the statement. To the horror of the convention, the UNIA had only $1.32 left in its "treasury".[63]

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[61] "Stewart to Montreal Division, March 29, 1942," Stewart File 1.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Minutes of Sept. 26, 1942, meeting, p. 3.

Not only did Stewart fail to live up to his obligation to send financial support to Mrs. Garvey and her two sons, but he even robbed them of money which Mrs. Garvey had earned through her own direct effort.

While Garvey was having difficulties with the U.S. courts, his wife, at his request, compiled and published a selection of his speeches and writings in book form which was entitled Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.[64] This represented a difficult and costly undertaking for her since she was unable to convince a publishing company to accept the job. Once she made the decision to be her own publisher, she discovered that printers demanded full payment in cash before they would undertake the job of printing the manuscript. In order to produce the work, therefore, Mrs. Garvey was forced to undertake strenuous speaking tours in order to meet the demands of the printers and other expenses associated with her project. Once the books were printed, she had to take care of their distribution and marketing.[65]

When Garvey died, there were still about 300 copies of this work in the possession of his widow. Secretary General Ethel Collins offered to sell them in the U.S. as a means of easing the financial difficulties in which Mrs. Garvey had found herself as

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[64]Volume I was published in 1923 and volume II in 1925.

[65]A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, Kingston, A.J. Garvey, 1963, p. 1. This is the original hard cover edition of this book. All other quotes from this text are taken from the paper edition brought out by Collier in 1970.

a result of the death of her husband. The books were quickly shipped to Miss Collins in New York at the publisher's expense. The latter waited for several months to receive some form of payment, and did not receive a single cent. On investigation, Mrs. Garvey discovered that Stewart had taken the books away from Miss Collins, promptly sold them, and kept all the money for his own personal use.[66]

In addition to such financial corruption and obvious lack of any sympathy for the family of his deceased leader (one might even add lack of ordinary decent human feelings), Stewart demonstrated a singular lack of tact, diplomacy, and good common sense. At a time when the American people held very strong feelings against Japan, partly as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbour, Stewart found it wise to assail the sensitivities of the entire nation.

In February, 1942, his lead editorial in The New Negro World, the monthly magazine which he started a few months previously, argued that black Americans were under no obligation to sympathize with the U.S. position in the war against Japan. "Let's Face The Truth", the title which he gave to his editorial based its conclusion on the fact that American Negroes had suffered far too greatly at the hands of the U.S. government and its

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[66] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, hard cover edition, p. 1. "B.W. Jones to Pitt, August 26, 1942," Op. Cit. Minutes of Sept. 26, 1942, meeting, p. 14.

white supporters throughout their history. The editorial ended with the defiant but ill-advised exclamation, "TO HELL WITH PEARL HARBOUR."[67] (emphasis in original). As if bent on bringing down the wrath of America on the organization, the Acting President General opened the ill-starred Cleveland convention with the same incredibly stupid remark.[68]

It will be remembered that the UNIA had to fight against being branded an unpatriotic, if not subversive, organization. As a result of this, all the leaders, including Garvey himself, took the pains to point out that the association was not opposed to legitimately constituted governments.[69] One could understand, therefore, the dismay of delegates when Stewart acted in this manner. When his lack of decorum and his disregard for proper dress and deportment, which Garvey, by example, had instilled in his members, and which was stressed throughout the constitution, were added to his financial corruption and absence of any sense of diplomacy, it was not surprising that many Garveyites concluded that Stewart just had to go.

How mistaken Pitt was! Only two years had passed since he had convinced the emergency convention that Stewart was the man

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[67] The New Negro World, Feb. 1942, p. 2. NB "New" in title.

[68] Minutes of Sept. 26, 1942, meeting, p. 2.

[69] This was taken up in the chapter on the philosophy of the organization. This is still the position of the UNIA. It compares its dedication to Africa with that of Jews for Israel.

to succeed Marcus Garvey. Now he could only lament that his choice had turned out to "cowardly and beastly" and had preferred to lead "a band of unscrupulous scoundrels" instead of the UNIA.[70] The reader will recall how pleased he was after his stellar performance, at least as recounted by himself, during the 1940 convention. Six years afterwards, not only did he lose that feeling of self-satisfaction, but he admitted to a meeting of the Rehabilitating Committee that "he had lost the game at the conference in 1940."[71]

Garveyites in Montreal played important roles in the revolt against Stewart and the establishment and work of the Rehabilitating Committee. As has already been pointed out, Mr. E.J. Tucker represented the division at the 1942 Cleveland convention. He was also present in New York on September 26 and 27, participating in the conference of 1942 which was called to take action to save the UNIA from Stewart. Thus Montreal has the distinction of being one of the founding members of the Rehabilitating Committee.

Also present at that New York conference was Dr. D.D. Lewis, former president of the Montreal Division. He was, at that time, living in New York City and was active in the Garvey Club,

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[70] Minutes of Sept. 26, 1942, meeting, p. 4.

[71] Minutes of Sept. 28 and 29, 1946, meeting of the Rehabilitating Committee held in New York. See 1946 Rehab Comm File, ACHA Archives.

the name which was given to the reorganized body of Garveyites which survived the factionalism of the former Brooklyn Divisions.[72] Dr. Lewis made substantial contributions to the deliberations of the first two conferences of the Rehabilitating Committee. At the second such congress, which was held in Philadelphia from December 25 to 27, 1942, for example, the former president of the Montreal Division presented an economic plan which the delegates, "after close scrutiny," adopted.[73]

In addition to Tucker and Lewis, Mr. Henry Langdon and Mrs. Elaine Pierre, held official positions in the committee. The former was made the representative of the committee for the Province of Quebec by Chairman Basil Spencer Pitt. This appointment was ratified by the 1945 conference which was held at Norfolk, Virginia, from August 12 to 17.[74]

As for Mrs. Pierre, she was unanimously elected secretary-treasurer at the 1947 conference which took place in New Orleans, Louisiana, from August 10 to 17.[75] She assumed this office at a crucial time in the history of the committee because her predecessor, Mr. Cleophus Jacobs of New York, had serious personal and

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[72] Minutes of 1945 meeting of Rehab Comm in 1945 Rehab Comm File, ACHA Archives.

[73] Minutes of Dec. 25-27, 1942, meeting, pp. 11 and 12, Rehab Comm File 2, ACHA Archives.

[74] Letter of appointment, with seal of organization, dated Oct. 15, 1945, Rehab Comm File 5, ACHA Archives.

[75] "Pitt to Rehab Comm members, Aug. 29, 1947," Ibid.

other differences with the chairman. Jacobs was considered a disruptive force and was subsequently brought before the executive to answer various charges. Among them were the following: "wilfully" refusing "to carry out several instructions" given him by the committee, "insurbordination", and conducting himself "in manners, by words and in writing likely to cause confusion and discontent among members of the committee and participating units."[76] He was, in short, apparently trying to oust Pitt from the chairmanship of the group. Mrs. Pierre, a devoted Garveyite like her parents, especially her mother, Mrs. Theresa Cooper, worked energetically to rehabilitate the Rehabilitating Committee.

Perhaps the most memorable contribution made by the Montreal Division to this committee occurred when this city played host to the 1944 convention. The Montrealers had planned a ceremonial and official opening of the property which they had purchased from J.B. Vanier less than a year previously, and were preparing to dedicate their Liberty Hall to the memory of their esteemed and beloved founder, Marcus Garvey.[77] Pitt suggested that both the opening and dedication services be held in conjunction with the convention of the Rehabilitating Committee.[78] This was

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[76]"Pitt to Jacobs, Mar. 17, 1948, and to Rehab Comm, Mar. 15, 1948, Rehab Comm File 6, ACHA Archives.

[77]Letters of invitation, July 24, 1944, 1944 Rehab Comm File, ACHA Archives.

[78]"Pitt to Montreal Division, March 31, 1944," Ibid.

considered a good idea, and the Montrealers made plans to integrate their special ceremonies with the activities of a convention of the Rehabilitating Committee.

Chairman Pitt worked hard to help the Montreal Division make this event a success. Through his office he sent out the call to all units to attend the congress. He also urged them to make financial contributions in order to assist the host division with the expenses involved. He even played the role of salesman, requesting units to purchase greeting spaces in the brochure and souvenir programme which Montreal had planned to produce.[79]

Nor did the hosts sit idly by. They sent out invitations to all divisions and to specially selected individuals. These included all those men and women who had helped, in some way, with the purchase of the property.[80] Civic officials, including the mayor, were also invited. To ensure that proper protocol was observed, Pitt, who, as a lawyer, was presumably more knowledgeable on such matters, was asked to draw up the letters of invitation.[81] Finally, a draft programme was prepared and circulated among the various units of the Rehabilitating Committee for their comments and suggestions. Only then was the final pro-

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[79] See letters dated July 7 and 21, 1944, and sent to all divisions, 1944 Rehab Comm File.

[80] "Tucker to Mrs. W.H. Miner, Aug. 1, 1944," Ibid., is one example.

[81] "Tucker to Pitt, July 19, 1944," and "Pitt to Tucker, August 7, 1944," Ibid.

duct handed over to the printers.[82]

With such careful preparation and solid support of the central organization, the success of this convention was almost guaranteed. Delegates came from many areas including Toronto, Brooklyn, Harlem, the Bronx, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, New Orleans and Norfolk, Virginia.[83] Some units that were unable to be present sent their best wishes, greetings and messages of congratulations. The New Waterford and New Aberdeen Divisions of Nova Scotia were among the latter group.[84]

Wednesday, August 16, was opening day, with an address of welcome, given by Mr. Tucker in his capacity of President of the Montreal Division, as the first item on the agenda. He was followed by the chairman of the Rehabilitating Committee, Mr. Pitt, who, in turn, was followed by Mr. Thomas Harvey. The last-named gentleman was Chancellor of the UNIA and ACL, August 1929 of the World, and, it was in this capacity that he addressed the gathering towards the commencement of activities. The mayor of the city was scheduled to add to the welcoming speeches, but he did not attend, preferring to send his best wishes for a successful congress.[85]

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[82] See "Agenda" in 1944 Rehab Comm File.

[83] Souvenir booklet and letters in Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Notes from sessions and conference programme. Official minutes were not located. Interviews with Tucker and Marshalleck.

During the business sessions, the minutes of the previous conference were read and approved, the reports of the various units affiliated to the Rehabilitation Committee were received, unfinished business from the previous convention were attended to, and new business and new ideas were introduced. Among them were ways and means of helping to accelerate the economic and social development of black people everywhere.[86]

The dedication service was held the following day. It began in the evening at 8.00 p.m. and was quite an impressive ceremony. It tried to recreate and recapture in Montreal some of the solemnity and grandeur of similar UNIA events which had impressed friends and foes alike in cities such as New York, Kingston, Jamaica, and, to a lesser extent, Toronto. The programme included addresses by various officials, the singing of hymns and the national anthems of Canada and of the UNIA, as well as the "Negro National Anthem" by James Weldon Johnson and that soulful UNIA song, "Oh! Africa Awaken".[87] The large gathering was also treated to a vocal solo by the Montreal song bird, Miss Clary Margaret Jones. Rev. Charles H. Este, minister of Union United Church, the "coloured church" in the city, and veteran member and chaplain of the local division, conducted the religious sections

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[86] Notes from sessions, conference programme, and interviews with Tucker and Marshalleck.

[87] See the appendix for the words to these songs. The UNIA had certain songs which were always sung on these occasions.

of the service and delivered the dedication address.[88]

To conclude the convention activities, the visiting delegates were taken on tours of the city and province. They visited the popular tourist sites in Montreal, as well as the R.C. shrine of St. Anne de Beaupré, located just outside the provincial capital of Quebec City, where miracles of various types are believed to occur. It is little wonder, therefore, that a move to make Montreal the headquarters of the entire organization surfaced among Garveyites. The Montreal Division, with its large property, was one of the few units to own any real estate, including its Liberty Hall. In addition, although only a shadow of its former self, the division was intact and functioning. Finally, the social climate of this beautiful, clean, and lively city must have appeared heavenly to delegates from Virginia, New York, Detroit, and other such U.S. centres where anti-Negro attitudes were already firmly entrenched. After the matter was carefully considered, however, the many serious problems, including job opportunities, involved in such a move, caused the idea to die a natural death.[89]

The Rehabilitating Committee continued to develop and to carry on the work of the UNIA as best it could. Conventions and

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[88] Conference programme and interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, and Mrs. Elaine Pierre.

[89] Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, and Mrs. Pierre. Problems included immigration laws, cost of moving, and Montreal's severe winters.

conferences were held at regular intervals, at least once per year. Between congresses, the executive maintained constant correspondence with the various units.[90] The factionalism ended, for all practical purposes, at the international convention which was held in Detroit from August 26 to September 3, 1951. At this congress, a full slate of officers including the President General, four Assistant President Generals, a Secretary General, and a High Chancellor were elected.[91] Mr. Thomas W. Harvey of Philadelphia was elected to lead the renewed UNIA and ACL, 1929 of the World. Among those assisting him were William L. Sherrill who, for a time, was Acting President General while Garvey was imprisoned, Charles L. James, a veteran Garveyite who is the current leader of the organization, and Ethel Collins, the well-known Secretary General and UNIA stalwart.

As for James R. Stewart, he migrated to Liberia sometime during the late 1940's, purporting to have transferred the headquarters of the organization to that West African nation. It is believed that he operated a farm in that country where he subsequently died. His followers in the U.S. did not remain together as a group. Many drifted back into the official UNIA.[92]

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[90] See various Rehab Comm Files, ACHA Archives.

[91] Minutes of 1951 convention, 1951 Convention File, ACHA Archives.

[92] See report in 1950 C File and minutes of 1951 convention, pp. 18 and 28. Also interviews with Rev. J. Tucker and Attorney Bailey in Kingston, Jamaica, 1978.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MONTREAL DIVISION AND THE GARVEY FAMILY

In previous chapters, references were made to the relationship which Garvey had with the Montreal Division. In this chapter, closer examination of this aspect of the Montreal UNIA will be undertaken, since there seemed to have developed a special tie between Garveyites of this city, their leader and his family.

Marcus Garvey paid several visits to Montreal during the course of his leadership of the UNIA. The precise number of these visits is not known, but it is clear that he enjoyed coming to this city. His first trip here may very well have been the occasion in 1917 when, according to Israel, he addressed a gathering in one of the city's auditorium. His last trip was certainly the one which he made in August, 1938, at the conclusion of the Eighth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World which was held in Toronto. Between these two were others, some of which were of a private nature.[1] According to Tony Martin, who is currently working on a biography of Amy Ashwood Garvey, the first

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[1] The occasions mentioned here can be found in previous chapters where they were developed to some degree. Mr. Tucker is an important source for some of this information.

wife of Marcus Garvey, the couple spent part of their honeymoon in Montreal.[2] This must have been late in December or early in January since they were married on Christmas Day of 1919.[3]

The majority of visits to this city, whether for business or for pleasure, seemed to have been pleasant experiences for the Garveys. There was, as far as can be determined, only one exception to this generalization, and this may very well have been the most memorable visit of all by Amy Jacques, second wife of Marcus, and the founder of the UNIA.

The couple had left England, where Garvey had established the headquarters of the organization, at the end of September, 1928, for a visit to Canada and the Caribbean. Since Garvey could not legally enter the U.S., both his wife and secretary went on speaking tours in than country. The Garveys seemed to have had a very pleasant trans-atlantic crossing aboard the CPR Ocean Liner, the S.S. Empress of Scotland. Among the passengers on board and with whom they spoke was the Right Honourable Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada who, according to Mrs. Garvey "was courteous to them on the promenade deck." He was one of the passengers to say farewell to Garvey and party.[4]

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[2]Conversation with Martin in December, 1979.

[3]Tony Martin, Race First, p. 12. After a stormy relationship, they were divorced on June 15, 1922. He married Amy Jacques, his secretary and friend of Amy Ashwood, in July of that year.

[4]A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 194.

When the ship docked at Quebec City, Garvey and party were met by a reception committee organized by the Montreal Division and headed by Mr. Z. Chambers "who assisted them in their arrangements".[5] The immigration authorities granted them a visitor's visa, and they proceeded to Montreal by train.[6] They were taken to the La Salle Hotel on Drummond Street where the reception committee had reserved accommodation for the visitors.[7]

The UNIA members met with great disappointment and were severely humiliated in the presence of their leader when they reached the reception desk. They were told by the hotel management that there was no room available. Undaunted, they tried all "the leading Hotels [sic]," but they all "refused their rooms on the plea of [being] filled up." [Emphasis in original]. Garvey and party were then taken to the home of Edgar Vaughan, one of the officials of the division, who lived at 858 Richmond Square, in the heart of the small black ghetto of the city. Here they remained during their entire stay in Montreal.[8]

On Monday, October 29, the President General held a special meeting with the division. On the suggestion of Mr. John

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[5]Reception Committee Report, MB 1, p. 112.

[6]A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 194. Mrs. Garvey said that they received "a visitor's landing card in Montreal." She probably meant Quebec City. See MB 1, p. 112.

[7]Reception Committee Report, Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 107. The committee report was given at the November 29, 1928, "second monthly meeting".

Marshalleck, it was open to financial members only. It was felt that this would, in the future, convince more members that they should pay their dues.[9] During the meeting, which was held at Liberty Hall, 618 Chatham Street, there was a frank exchange of views between the President General and his loyal Montreal followers. Reports indicate that all were satisfied with the outcome of the session, and the hope was expressed that the meeting would result in a "firm bond of unison amongst Members."[10]

A mass meeting was planned for Victoria Hall, Westmount, for the following night. This venue was rented at the specific request of Garvey because of its capacity[11] and, probably, its location. It was felt that its position in the wealthy suburb of Montreal might attract a larger gathering than the smaller, less appointed Liberty Hall in the heart of the working class west-end. Posters, advertising the event and "cordially" inviting the general public to come and "hear Hon. Marcus Garvey lecture," were widely distributed. Admission fees were scaled from 50 cents to $1.00.[12] A large crowd was present at Victoria Hall that evening, but the people were to be disappointed because the main attraction did not show up.

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[9] MB 1, p. 107.

[10] Ibid., p. 112.

[11] Ibid., p. 106.

[12] See programme in Garvey in Montreal File, ACHA Archives.

Before proceeding to Victoria Hall to deliver his address, Garvey was arrested on Richmond Square by immigration officials and police. The alleged reason for his arrest and imprisonment was "illegal entry" into Canada. Although he showed the arresting authorities "his landing card duly signed and stamped," it made no impression on them.[13]

Hardly anyone, knowledgeable on the subject, gave any credence to this explanation. According to Mrs. Garvey, rumours had been circulating at the time to the effect that her husband was arrested and ordered to remain silent because of the impending U.S. presidential elections.[14] Cronon elaborated on this explanation by pointing out that Garvey had intervened in the election campaign from his sanctuary in Canada, endorsing Al Smith, the candidate of the Democratic Party, over Herbert Hoover, the Republican Party hopeful. The President General had approvingly described Smith as a man "sprung from the common people," while he unflatteringly dubbed Hoover "a millionaire ... pampered by the monopolist class."[15]

All this would probably have gone unnoticed by the Canadian authorities, had not the U.S. consul in Montreal advised his superiors of Garvey's stand and utterances. The Republican

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[13] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 194.

[14] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 150. Cronon based his explanation on U.S. diplomatic documents of the period.

[15] Ibid.

administration of Calvin Coolidge laid a protest with the Canadian government which decided to take action to silence the UNIA leader.[16]

As was to be expected, the Montreal Garveyites did not take this affront to their Chief very lightly. Rev. Charles Este was asked to substitute for the feature speaker who was in detention. Eyewitnesses have described Rev. Este's performance as, perhaps, his "finest hour." The UNIA chaplain rose to the occasion, castigating the Canadian authorities for spinelessly surrendering to the Americans instead of exercising their own judgement which one had a right to expect from an independent nation.[17] When he came to the "Aims and Objects" of the UNIA during his address, Rev. Este, "in an able manner," explained that the obvious disregard for the feelings of black Montrealers, in this instance, was a natural consequence of the fact that Blacks did not represent a united front and, as a consequence, had no power. In this sense, people of African descent had failed to observe one of the most important aspects of the philosophy of Marcus Garvey and were paying the penalty.[18]

In addition to carrying out its programme at Victoria Hall, the division took concrete steps to secure Garvey's release. Tele-

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[16] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 150.

[17] Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, the Coopers, O.N. Daniels, Alan Husbands, and George Elliot.

[18] MB 1, p. 112.

grams were sent to the Hon. F. Blair, Minister in charge of immigration,[19] to Leslie Bell, a Montreal M.P., and to Prime Minister Mackenzie King.[20] The telegram to Blair read as follows:

> Negros [sic] of Montreal desire that you allow Marcus Garvey now detained at Immigration Office Montreal to proceed to Toronto for conference with Officers of our Organization of which he is Supreme Head. He is holding a ten days permit to stay in Dominion.[21]

Mackenzie King, who had shown so much courtesy and friendliness to the Garveys on their way to Canada, did not even acknowledge receipt of the telegram.[22]

The President General of the UNIA was subsequently released from confinement, but on the understanding that he would make no further public pronouncements while in the country.[23] This was the reason for his silence during a mass meeting which was held in his honour at Liberty Hall on the night of November 6, 1928. The large gathering, understandably disappointed, was, nevertheless, treated to an "excellent [concert] programme,"[24] A

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[19] MB 1, p. 109 describes Blair as such. Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation July 1, 1867-January 1, 1967, published by the Public Archives of Canada, lists Robert Forke as the minister. See p. 50.

[20] Interview with Tucker and Marshalleck.

[21] MB 1, p. 110.

[22] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 195. Interviews with Tucker and Marshalleck. Blair replied. See MB 1, p. 110.

[23] Interviews with Tucker, Marshalleck, Rev. Este.

[24] MB 1, p. 113.

purse of $76.41 was donated to Garvey, even though the people were deprived of the privilege of listening to the spell-binding oratory of this charismatic leader.[25]

This unsavoury episode demonstrated, inter alia, that Garvey, although imprisoned and persecuted by the U.S. authorities, with the hope of discrediting him in the eyes of people of African descent in general and of Black Americans in particular, still remained an influential figure. Even his deportation from the U.S.A. and the schism, which occurred in the ranks of the organization during the 1929 convention, had only a limited effect on the influence wielded by Garvey among Negroes.

The close relationship between the Garvey family and the Montreal Division was also illustrated in other ways. The division was always among the first to answer the call for funds to be used only for the President General. A good example of this was furnished during the period when he was faced with the serious charge of using the U.S. mail to defraud. The Montrealers quickly sent money to the Parent Body to help meet the costs involved in defending Garvey.[26] When he was found guilty and sentenced to prison, the division was, once again, among the first to contribute to his appeal fund.[27]

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[25] MB 1, p. 113.

[26] See letters in Marcus Garvey Defence Fund File 2, ACHA Archives.

[27] MB 1, pp. 108-113.

Nor did the Montrealers wait until their leader was in difficulty to show their attachment for him and his family. The records reveal that they made contributions in order that Garvey and his family could take special vacations.[28] The division also remembered his birthday by sending congratulations and, on occasions, a monetary gift.[29] The members showed uncommon concern and anxiety when correspondence between the President and the division lagged to some degree, or when there was news that he was not enjoying the best of health.[30] They rejoiced with the first UNIA family whenever there was occasion to do so. A good example occurred when the first of the Garvey sons was born. The Montrealers were quick to send their congratulations along with a sum of money "for Baby Garvey."[31]

Although this attachment between the Montreal Division and the Garvey family expressed itself in many impressive ways during the active life span of the first President General of the UNIA, it was during his terminal illness and, in particular, after his death, that this concern became more marked. Perhaps it was the image of Amy Jacques, the distraught widow and mater dolorosa,

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[28] MB 1, p. 104. Ledger 1, pp. 98 and 101.

[29] MB 2, p. 63. Ledger 1, p. 156. Ledger 5, p. 86.

[30] MB 1, p. 171. Several letters scattered in the files of the ACHA also reveal these concerns.

[31] MB 1, p. 189. The available records do not reveal any special message or gift sent on the birth of the second child.

with two small children to care for, and with little or no money left by their father,[32] which heightened this sense of oneness with the family. The fact that the Montrealers, together with Garveyites in other areas, firmly believed that their leader died a martyr's death in his attempt to redeem the black race served only to enhance and solidify this rather mystic attachment.

As can easily be imagined, the period between January, 1940, when Garvey suffered his first stroke, and June 10 of that same year when he died, was a most difficult one for his wife. At the time, she was living in Jamaica, largely on account of the health of her two children, particularly the elder, Marcus, Jr. While living in England, he had contracted rheumatic fever, the effects of which left him slightly paralyzed. His doctors had recommended a tropical climate for him to recuperate. Jamaica, the birthplace of his parents, was the obvious choice.[33]

As leader of the UNIA, however, Garvey had found it impossible to leave the headquarters of the organization which the Seventh International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World had voted to move to London six years before his death.[34] This resulted in the separation of his family which, as was seen

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[32] "A.J. Garvey to Pitt, July 16, 1940," AJG File 8.

[33] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 245-251. See, AJG File 6, ACHA Archives.

[34] The Blackman, Vol. 1, No. 6, November, 1934, p. 2, 1934 C File.

above, lasted until his death. As his illness became more serious with the passage of time, the President General found himself, indeed, in the "land of strangers,"[35] with only a secretary, clerk, and a housekeeper to look after him.[36] He did not have the comfort of his wife and children.

As she pointed out, Mrs. Garvey would have liked nothing better than to have been at her husband's side at the time. The Second World War, however, helped to frustrate her efforts to do so. Civilian travel was severely restricted during the course of the war, and securing passage from Jamaica to London was almost impossible for a private individual. With the impending fall of France and German submarines, instead of Britannia, ruling the waves, Mrs. Garvey was unable to reach her husband's bedside before he passed away that fateful morning in June, 1940.

The Montreal Division did all in its power to assist her in her attempt to reach London, but this was to no avail.[37] It also took immediate steps to send money to help the stricken leader. In response to a telegram from Miss Collins, which reached Montreal on January 15, 1940, $10.00 were sent by cable to Garvey on the following day. He was then living at 2 Beaumont Crescent, West

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[35] Daisy Whyte's June 24, 1945, address in Edelweiss Park, Kingston, Jamaica, p. 4, Daisy Whyte File, ACHA Archives.

[36] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 261. Daisy Whyte, Op. Cit. An Indian doctor administered to Garvey.

[37] "Tucker to Collins, Jan. 29, 1949," Death File 1, ACHA Archives.

Kensington, London.[38] On receiving further information about the condition of their Chief,[39] the Montrealers quickly sent the additional sum of $50.00 to the Secretary General, instructing her that $25.00 were meant for Mrs. Garvey and her two children. The other half was intended for the stricken Garvey.[40]

In a warm and courteous letter of thanks, Mrs. Garvey acknowledged the gift which was, in her words, "highly appreciated." It was particularly welcome, she went on to explain, because it reached her at a time when her husband was "laid low" and there was "nothing at all coming financially from him."[41] Such tangible and practical expression of love and concern for the founder of the organization and his family served to reinforce the impression that the Montrealers held the Garveys in high esteem, and were among their most loyal followers.

It is not being suggested here that this division was the only one to come forward in such a quick and generous manner. Other units, undoubtedly, made their contributions. It is known, for example, that Glace Bay and New Aberdeen, both of Nova Scotia, had forwarded $15.00 and $50.00 respectively to help the stricken

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[38] "Duke, Secretary of the Montreal Division, to Collins, Jan. 15, to Pitt, Feb. 2, and to Garvey, Mar. 4, 1940," Ibid.

[39] "Collins to Tucker, Jan. 14, 1940," Ibid.

[40] Jan. 14 and 17, 1940, minutes and receipt, Ibid.

[41] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Jan. 27, 1940," Ibid.

leader.[42] Also, without stating the amount, Pitt indicated that Toronto had decided to send money to Garvey in London and to his wife in Jamaica.[43]

Montreal was approached for assistance of another kind during the illness of the President General. Mrs. Garvey had been trying to get her husband to leave England and return to Jamaica, because she felt that the damp English climate would be disastrous for him. She was also convinced that, even if he did survive the stroke, he would remain, at best, "a semi-invalid."[44] Try as she did, she was not able to get through to him on these points. As a result, she turned to her friends in Montreal for help.

In a letter bordering on desperation, she suggested that the Montrealers should make a direct appeal to Garvey to leave London for climatic reasons. The appeal should be made in such a manner as to make it appear that "all the Divisions" were actually begging him to return to Jamaica. She added that a "Special Commissioner" should be sent to him in order to render the request more effective.[45] These suggestions of Mrs. Garvey tend to indicate that she was aware of the rather developed ego which some

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[42] "Pitt to Tucker, Jan. 17, 1940," "Pitt to Duke, Feb. 6, 1940, Death File 1.

[43] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Jan. 27, 1940," Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

of his critics had accused her husband of nurturing.[46]

As was mentioned earlier, the support, financial and otherwise, which the Montreal Division gave to the Garvey family did not end with the death of the President General. On the contrary, it increased, as one would tend to expect under the circumstances, during the period immediately following his death.

To put it charitably, Garvey did not make adequate provisions for his widow and sons. He assumed an incredibly naive and improvident position exemplified in this quotation: "I have nothing to leave for them[;] but the service I have cheerfully given to my Race is guarantee for their future."[47] One would hardly have expected a display of such confidence in human nature by Garvey, after he had been given so many lessons in its frailty!

To some degree, perhaps, Garvey's optimism was not altogether misguided. The emergency convention of 1940, which selected Stewart to complete Garvey's term, did mandate the former to use the resources of the organization to send financial help to the widow and children. As was seen in the previous chapter, Stewart did not live up to the high expectations that the organization had in him, and he grossly neglected Mrs. Garvey and her sons.

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[46] The reader will undoubtedly recall the scene at the second regional conference in Toronto when the delegates "begged" Garvey to allow them to ask the U.S. authorities to lift his ban of deportation.

[47] Daisy Whyte's June 25, 1945, speech, p. 4. See, also, A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, pp. 251-252; Clarke, ed., pp.338-339.

Even though the active membership was small at that time, the faithful few such as E.J. Tucker, Florence Tucker, John Marshalleck, A. Browne, Elaine Pierre, W.H. Duke, Fergus Mackenzie, and Theresa Cooper thought up ways and means of bringing cheer to Mrs. Garvey and her fatherless children.[48] These Montrealers, for example, drew up a subscription list to collect money for the purpose of purchasing Christmas gifts for "the children of [their] deceased leader."[49] This was in 1940, the first Christmas which the Garveys spent after the death of the President General. The names which appeared first among the list of donors were those of the very people who came up with the idea. They collected $85.25, and this sum was promptly dispatched to Jamaica. Again, in 1944, according to the available records, $25.00 were given towards the "Christmas cheer" of the widow and her two children by the Montreal division.[50]

It would be to convey the wrong impression to suggest that Montreal Blacks, in general, showed this kind of concern for the widow and her fatherless children. Sometimes the few UNIA activists felt demoralized over the response to their appeal on behalf of them. Mr. Tucker expressed this frustration in a letter to Mrs. Garvey in which he told her how difficult it was to get the people

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[48] "Tucker to Pitt, October 10, 1940;" AJG File 3.

[49] See AJG File 2.

[50] "Tucker to A.J. Garvey, December 8, 1944;" AJG File 3.

of this city to carry out their responsibilities to her and her children. He wondered what will become of the Negro race which, at times, had shown such "indifference, ... and carelessness."[51]

Particular concern was shown over the health of the children. This might have been prompted by their medical history which seemed to indicate that they were susceptible to certain illnesses. While in England between June, 1937, and September, 1938,[52] both boys suffered from various complaints. Julius, the younger, had contracted bronchitis, while Marcus, Jr., was afflicted by a more serious condition. After suffering with the measles, he developed rheumatic fever which had an adverse effect on his heart, making it "a bit weak."[53] It had also reached the stage where a general practioner was unable to deal with the problem, so that the child was hospitalized and put under the care of an orthopaedic surgeon.[54] It was this specialist and other medical practioners who recommended a warm climate, such as that enjoyed in the West Indies, for a satisfactory healing of the affliction.[55]

The Montrealers were aware of the children's assorted illnesses, as their mother kept the division informed on these

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[51] "Tucker to Mrs. Garvey, Sept. 27, 1943," AJG File 1.

[52] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 237 and p. 249.

[53] Ibid., p. 246.

[54] Ibid., pp. 246 and 247.

[55] Ibid., p. 248.

and related matters. She often described Julius as "Chubby",[56] suggesting that he was in good health. She was a little more restrained, however, when speaking about the physical condition of Marcus, Jr. This is understandable when the medical records of both boys are taken into consideration.

Perhaps it was the death of their father which prompted the Montrealers, especially the Tuckers, to be as solicitous for the health of both boys as they undoubtedly were. When "Chubby", for example, had "recovered" from what appeared to be nothing more serious than the common cold, Mr. Tucker wrote that he was extremely "happy" to hear this. He promptly sent Mrs. Garvey the sum of $5.00 in order to purchase some "tonic" so that the child's resistance against future attacks could be built up.[57]

The Montreal Division was similarly concerned over the educational development of both boys. This was a result of many factors, including that aspect of UNIA philosophy which stressed the value of an educated leadership. It also reflected the emphasis which Africans abroad, particularly those of West Indian background, placed on education. They see it as the most important means of upward social mobility available to them.[58]

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[56] "A.J.Garvey to Tucker, June 6, 1952," AJG File 6. See, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 222, for origin of this nickname.

[57] "Tucker to A.J. Garvey," July 13, 1952," Ibid.

[58] A careful reading of the history of U.S. Blacks, from slavery to the present time, would negate the argument that they are not interested in education.

The Garvey boys were given even more careful consideration in this regard. This was the result of their mother's attitude, and of the hope, held by many a UNIA stalwart, that one of them, preferably Marcus, Jr., would follow in his father's footsteps. It was probably no accident that Pitt had tried to get the 1940 emergency convention to select Garvey's elder son to complete the presidential term of his father. This hope for some form of hereditary succession in the leadership of the UNIA may also help to explain the great interest displayed in the health enjoyed by Garvey's children.

The fact that both Marcus, Jr., and Julius showed early promise of a very good academic career helped to heighten interest in their education. Mrs. Garvey has related the story of a "head Black Cross nurse," who was astounded by the ability of the elder boy. This nurse enthusiastically remarked, "We will have to raise a lot of money to educate this boy."[59]

In another section of that book, Mrs. Garvey recounted an episode in which a ward sister at the Princess Beatrice Hospital, London, where Junior[60] was a patient, was similarly impressed by the apparent intelligence of the children. "You have two fine boys," she exclaimed; "Marcus is a remarkable child for his age; ..."[61]

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[59] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 237

[60] Marcus was often simply referred to as Junior.

[61] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 247.

The proud mother had previously explained that Daddy Garvey was in the habit of taking not only chocolates to his hospitalized son, but also Arthur Mee's Children's Encylopaedia, one volume at a time. According to her, Junior read the ten volumes voraciously, and was able to communicate the knowledge derived from them to the "other little patients ... gathered around his bed."[62]

The early promise, exhibited by the Garvey children, was not a passing phenomenon. They excelled in school, starting at the primary level, and continued doing very well at the university phase of their schooling. A justifiably proud Mrs. Garvey kept her friends informed of their progress by writing letters and sending newspaper clippings featuring their achievements. In December, 1941, for example, she wrote that Junior "had won a scholarship to Calabar College" and that Julius was "too small to take a scholarship, but came first in his class."[63] The children were eleven and eight years of age respectively.[64]

Two years afterwards Mrs Garvey returned to the theme of her children's progress in school. She informed the Montrealers

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[62] A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, p. 247.

[63] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, December 28, 1941," AJG File 6.

[64] Marcus, Jr., was born on September 17, 1930. See Garvey and Garveyism, p. 219, which also described the reaction of the proud father. Julius was born on August 16, 1933, during a prolonged tropical rain storm which Mrs. Garvey described as a "scene of confusion and distress." See Ibid., p. 222. Marcus Garvey had no offspring from his first marriage.

that the boys were doing "well," both having placed "second in their respective classes." What made this showing even more noteworthy and gratifying was the fact that these were the results of final examinations, and that both were the "youngest boys in their classes."[65] Three years afterwards, the division learned that both boys were the recipients of academic scholarships.[66]

Mrs. Garvey also sent newspaper clippings and other bits of information concerning the progress, educational and otherwise, of her two sons. When Junior, for example, gained his B.A. degree from London University in 1950 at the age of 19, the Jamaican daily newspapers carried the story, giving details of the young man's academic career. At the age of eleven, he had won a scholarship which enabled him to attend Calabar College where, at 15 years of age, he gained the Cambridge School Certificate, Grade 1. At 17, he passed the Cambridge Higher School Certificate, with exemption from the Inter-B.A. examinations, and then proceeded to read for his B.A. dgree, as an external student, in English law and economics. Since graduating from high school, he worked as a junior civil seryant.[67] Three years later, he had passed the intermediate examinations for the LL. B. degree of London Uni-

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[65] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Dec. 20, 1943," AJG File 6.

[66] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, July 31, 1946," Ibid. Mrs. Garvey and her boys were visiting New York on the invitation of the Garvey Club of that city.

[67] The Jamaica Times, Nov. 23, 1950, and the Daily Gleaner, Nov. 25, 1950, both clippings in Ibid.

versity and, at 22 years of age, he was preparing to take Part 1 of the Bar Examinations.[68]

When he was about to leave Jamaica in 1953 to write his final law examinations at Lincoln's Inn, London, England, the Harmony Division of the UNIA held a farewell function in his honour. The ceremony was given prominent space in the newspapers of Kingston, with details of the evening's proceedings and of the academic career of Marcus Garvey, Jr. One photograph showed the young man receiving a gift from Mr. Eustace White, an officer of the division, one of the organizers of the memorable 1929 convention, and a veteran Garveyite.[69]

After accepting a souvenir and "a purse", the amount of which was not disclosed, Junior addressed the gathering. He declared that he was "determined to fit himself to follow in the footsteps of his father," regardless of the difficulties involved. He promised to do well because, as far as he was concerned, failure was "a sign of weakness" and did not belong anywhere in his philosophy.[70] To those people who were anxiously awaiting a son of Garvey to replace his father, Marcus, Jr. sounded like a reincarnation of Marcus, Sr. To others, perhaps, the young man may

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[68]The Daily Gleaner, Sept. 15, 1953, AJG File 6.

[69]See Len S. Nembhard, Op. Cit., p. 149, for the role played by Eustace White in organizing this convention.

[70]The Daily Gleaner, Sept. 19, 1953, AJG File 6.

have been unduly influenced to accept a role for which he was probably unfit. This may have proven too burthensome for him.[71]

The Montrealers could not have been surprised by the flights of oratory indulged in by Marcus, Jr., and revealed in the clippings which his mother promptly sent to them. They were directly introduced to it seven years before when, together with his mother and younger brother, he visited Toronto. At the time, he was only 16 years of age, but was the guest speaker at a function held in honour of the three visitors. As his topic, Junior chose the rather ponderous theme, the Value of Education to the Youth, and, according to some who heard him, he did a commendable job.[72] On their return to Jamaica, Mrs. Garvey sent an account of their tour, complete with photographs, to the local press. The Daily Gleaner carried the story, and the proud mother quickly dispatched the clipping to her friends in Montreal.[73] The fact that she worked so hard at bringing up her boys, while at the same time, trying to carry on the work of her deceased husband, makes it easy for one to overlook the immense pride and joy she obviously experienced whenever she discussed the development of her sons.

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[71]The subsequent development and career of Marcus, Jr. would make interesting study for the historian with a psychological bent as well as for one interested in education.

[72]One has to admit that Messers Tucker and Cooper were already very much inclined to believe this.

[73]See Sept. 18, 1946, clipping in AJG File 6. See,also, "Tucker to A.J. Garvey, July 28, 1946," and "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, July 31, 1946," Ibid., and MB 3, pp. 45 and 48.

In reading the documents, one could get the impression that Julius was assigned a secondary rating in the scheme of things. This is not to suggest that he was neglected by his mother and Garveyites in general. Considerable attention was paid to his development and well being, as was the case with his elder brother. The fact remains, however, that he was the second child and, in the primogeniture system of succession and inheritance, such a person did not command the same regard as the first-born. Of course, Garveyites, if presented with this interpretation, are likely to deny it. The evidence tends to suggest, however, that this was their line of thinking whether or not they were aware of its full implications as well as the reasons behind it.

After completing his secondary education, Julius worked in the government laboratory located on North Street in Kingston. When the time came for him to continue his education, Mc Gill University of Montreal was chosen. His departure from Jamaica was duly noted, although there is no document, currently available, to show that he was given the same type of send-off as his brother. Initial plans called for him "to read for the B.Sc. degree."[74] (It should be added, here, that Mrs. Garvey once entertained the idea of sending Junior to a Canadian university, but the costs involved and the fact that he wished to study law[75] caused her

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[74]The Jamaica Star, Sept. 15, 1953, AJG File 6.

[75]One could not practise law in the British West Indies if one studied law in Canada, with the possible exception of graduates of Dalhousie University in Halifax.

to change her mind).[76]

Because of the close relationship between Mrs. Garvey and her Montreal friends, it was natural for her to get in touch with them over Julius' proposed stay at Mc Gill University. On July 15, 1953, the anxious mother wrote the "Old Timers and Workers" in the city, asking someone to board and lodge her son and a friend and classmate "for a reasonable price." She asked them not to make a hasty decision, but to give the matter careful consideration. Julius was due to arrive in Montreal towards the middle of September as he had to register at Mc Gill on the twenty first of that month.[77]

The reply from the Montrealers, written by Mr. Tucker, must have come as a let down to Mrs. Garvey, at least to some degree. They suggested, after her "request [was] carefully viewed", that the YMCA was "the most suitable place" for Julius and his friend. They cited its close proximity to the university, which would cancel any costs of transportation, while explaining that they all lived far from Mc Gill. Tucker explained that he had reserved a double room at the YMCA for September 16 and that the boys could have their meals at the cafeteria of that institution. He assured his friend that his "house will be open to Julius always plus love etc. for life.[78] [sic] [emphasis in original].

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[76] "A.J. Garvey to Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, July 22, 1947," Ibid.

[77] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, July 15, 1953," Ibid.

[78] "Tucker to A.J. Garvey, July 31, 1953," Ibid.

In her reply, Mrs. Garvey accepted the recommendation of the Montrealers, although she would have been happier if Chubbie "could have stayed in a home, ..." She wanted to have some idea about the costs involved, and to find out whether the YMCA took "black boys", as they might very well have been "under the impression that they were white."[79] The widow may very well have been thinking of the 1928 experience of her husband and herself when the Montreal Division tried to get them accommodation in a Montreal hotel, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. The solicitous mother would have preferred her son to live with a family because, in her view, he was still quite "young" and had to be reminded of his responsibilities.[80]

In the meantime, Mr. Tucker had found out that Mc Gill University itself operated two residences, Wilson and Douglas Halls, exclusively for male students. The former was slightly less expensive than the latter, with the cost per academic year set at $650.00 as compared with $685.00 for Douglas Hall. Should he choose to stay at one of the halls, Julius would have to find accommodation for the summer months, and this would mean additional expenditures. Mr. Tucker, who was operating under the assumption that the boy was on scholarship, suggested that it would be best for him to come to Montreal, stay temporarily at

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[79] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Aug. 5, 1953, AJG File 6.

[80] Ibid.

the YMCA, visit both residences, and them make his selection.[81]

Within three days of receiving this information from Montreal, Mrs. Garvey sent a reply saying that the costs were much too high, as Julius was not "on a scholarship at all." She went on to explain that she would have "to find the money to pay for him."[82] She had already stated that it would be necessary for him to find employment during the summer in order to pay for his board and lodge, while she will take care of the school fees and the cost of books.[83] As two of Juilus' cousins were also coming up to Mc Gill University, she felt that they could rent an apartment at a much more reasonable rate than they would be required to pay at the university halls of residence.[84]

In that same letter, Mrs. Garvey informed Mr. Tucker about Julius' itinerary. He had received a visa from the American consulate to visit the U.S.A. on his way to Canada. While in that country, he would be met by leading Garveyites who had expressed their willingness to entertain the younger son of their dead leader. These included the family of Mr. A.L. Crawford, President of the Brooklyn Division, and William Sherrill who, only the year before, was

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[81]"Tucker to A.J. Garvey, Aug. 24, 1953," AJG File 6.

[82]"A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Aug. 24, 1953," Ibid.

[83]"A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Aug. 5, 1953," Ibid. She asked Mr. Tucker to impress upon "Chubbie" the idea that he had to work hard "both in classes and manually."

[84]"A.J. Garvey to Tucker, Aug. 27, 1953," Ibid.

elected President General of the organization.[85] Receptions and meetings, in Julius' honour, were organized in cities such as Philadelphia, New York, and Detroit.[86] Travel arrangements called for him to leave the last-named city for Montreal by train. Mr. Tucker, who had "so graciously offered" his home to serve as his temporary headquarters, agreed to meet Julius at the station. It was up to the young man to inform the old Garveyite by telegram the precise time of his arrival in Montreal.[87]

There must have been some confusion or sudden change of plans because Mr. Tucker waited for that message which never did arrive.[88] It was not before the middle of October that the Montrealers had heard any further news concerning the arrival of Julius in Montreal. Mrs. Garvey wrote to say that her son was living with two of his high-school friends, one of whom was a cousin, at 3880 Plamondon Avenue, a residential area to the northwest of the city centre. She explained that she was waiting to hear from Mr. Tucker who,[89] at the same time, was awaiting a reply from her.[90] This indicates the degree to which there was a sudden and, as yet unex-

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[85] See "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, August 5, 1953," AJG File 6. This was also discussed earlier in this chapter.

[86] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, August 27, 1953," Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Interview with Mr. Tucker.

[89] "A.J. Garvey to Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, Oct. 11, 1953," Ibid.

[90] "Tucker to A.J. Garvey, Oct. 9, 1953, Ibid.

plained, break down in communications between Montreal Garveyites and Mrs. Garvey. It should be noted, however, that when the first lady of the UNIA published Garvey and Garveyism in 1963, Mr. Tucker was informed, and he purchased an autographed copy of this book which, at the time, commercial publishing houses avoided.[91]

In her letter of October 11, 1953, Mrs. Garvey thanked Mr. Tucker for all that he had done for Julius. Solicitous mother that she was, she asked the veteran Garveyite to "keep in touch" with her son because he was still only "a young chap" who would benefit from "some guidance from those who love him and his connections."[92] In a postscript, she brought the Montrealers up to date with respect to her elder son. Marcus, Jr. had left Jamaica for London 8 days after Julius' departure for Canada. Mrs. Garvey was happy to relate that Junior had had a safe passage, even though an Atlantic storm had the passengers slightly concerned during a part of their journey.[93]

Julius' stay in Montreal can only be described as very successful. He graduated from Mc Gill University in 1957 with a B.Sc. degree and, in 1961, as a medical doctor, with the M.D. C.M. degrees. His achievements were not confined to the classroom. He earned his "Big M", the major university award given to

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[91]This book is one of the prized possessions of the ACHA Archives.

[92]"A.J. Garvey to Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, Oct. 11, 1953."

[93]Ibid.

those students who represented the institution at the highest level in a given sport. Julius earned his in soccer, and he was a very good forward or striker.[94] In addition to his prowess on the soccer field, he was a prolific scorer and stylish batsman for the West Indian Cricket Club of the city which he helped to make one of the strongest teams in the league.[95] Perhaps Mr. Tucker, who had pledged his "all to serve" the founder of the UNIA and to be true to his "fallen Leader,"[96] as well as other "Old Timers and Workers in Montreal," could, with justification, take some credit for the success enjoyed by Julius while he was a student at Mc Gill University.

Reports indicate that he is doing very well as a medical doctor in New York City.[97] One does not get the impression, however, that he is directly involved in the UNIA or related movements. The opposite is true of Marcus, Jr., who has taken an active part in associations of that nature. He was a special guest and speaker at the 27th Annual Convention which was held in Philadelphia from August 21 to 26, 1979.[98] A qualified lawyer and engineer, he has been described as "an important leader in the Jamaican

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[94] I played left full back on the same team with Julius.

[95] Interviews with Keith Wilkinson and other cricketers.

[96] "Tucker to A.J. Garvey, May 12, 1944," AJG File 3.

[97] Interviews with his first cousin, Mrs. Ruth Prescott.

[98] Garvey's Voice, Nov.-Dec. 1979. Souvenir Journal of 1979 Convention, ACHA Archives.

black power movement."[99] He has assumed the African name of Mwalimu, and has been the main proponent of an ideology known as African National Socialism. This is a fusion of African nationalism, as was taught by his father, with that form of socialism which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah used to advocate. Junior has referred to this ideology as "black power in its highest form." To Vincent, it represents an attempt to "bring the ideas of the old UNIA up to date."[100]

In the final analysis, the best evidence regarding the closeness between the Montreal Division, especially the Tuckers, and Mrs. Garvey after the death of her husband was probably the manner in which she turned to them for sympathy and understanding. It does not require a great deal of imagination to appreciate the fact that this widow and mother of two young children must have gone through rather agonizing moments after the death of her husband. As was seen above, lack of money was an ever-constant problem. There were others, however, and these may have been at least as important as the financial hardships that she had to face. These included a rather drastic reduction in status, a tendency to distrust other people, especially as she was only too keenly aware of the many betrayals which plagued the organization, and a general feeling of hopelessnes. She would hardly have been human had such matters not played on her mind.

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[99] Vincent, Op. Cit., p. 29.

[100] Ibid. See, also, J.H. Clarke, Op. Cit., pp. 375-385.

When such thoughts seem to be on the point of getting the better of her, she would write to Montreal and, as it were, bleed her heart out to her friends. She knew that she would receive both sympathy and understanding from them, and this would help her through the period which the medieval mystics clled "the dark night of the soul."[101] An illustration of this was a letter which she wrote two years after the death of her husband. Its tone and content revealed the mind of a person who was in the throes of a depression. She lamented that she was not enjoying good health, and was "thoroughly broken down," with her heart feeling "as if it would burst any day." She perceived the psychosomatic nature of her condition because, as she explained, she was both "mentally and physically ill."[102] The letter went on,

> Broken in body from the strain of the last two years and trying to keep myself and the kids in a decent and clean manner, spiritually sad, when I view a chaotic world, and my Race, not yet alive to the position that they should be taking now as a Race group with a continent of brothers and sisters looking to them for light and leading.[103]

Writing after the manner of William Shakespeare, one could say that the heart of the widow was "sorely charged." She simply had to pour out her feelings to people who would listen, but, as she

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[101] St. Theresa of the Cross and St. John A Kempis furnish two very good examples of these mystics.

[102] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, July 8, 1942," AJG File 2.

[103] Ibid. "Leadership" would have been a better word.

pointed out, she was "handicapped by travel and the war."[104] Her only alternative was to resort to the pen, and she knew that the Tuckers and her other friends in Montreal would understand her plight and write her words of consolation to keep her going.

Contributing greatly to the cause of her depression was the fact that she was forced by circumstances to sit idly by and watch the destructive work of James R. Stewart. She felt that the Acting President General was determined to undermine the work of her husband. In a most memorable phrase, she accused Stewart of trying "to eliminate Garvey from Garveyism."[105] As one who, "even since the death of the Chief," had been "so active in the work of Garveyism" to the point where her health was "steadily" being undermined, she could not help but feel discouraged over the conduct of the man chosen to succeed her husband.

Fortunately for her, she had friends, such as Miss Ethel Collins, who were "still faithful and honest,"[106] and the members of the Montreal division. They were able to help her function because of their support and understanding. Neither the world nor the UNIA was made up only of people like James R. Stewart. What the organization had to do to avoid "chaos" and "achieve its best

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[104] "A.J. Garvey to Tucker, July 8, 1942," AJG File 2.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid. The sad experience of Mrs. Garvey and her husband forced them to stress these two qualities, loyalty and honesty.

in an international manner," she pleaded with her friends, was to remove Stewart and select leaders "endowed with Garveyism, and not selfishness."[107]

In concluding this chapter, it is difficult to say the precise effect which the support, given by the Montreal Division, had on Mrs. Garvey. There can be little doubt, however, that she leaned heavily on its members for support which was generously provided, and that she survived her husband by 33 years and 54 days, leading a most useful and productive life as an uncompromising believer in the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.[108]

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[107] "A.J. Garvey to Montreal Division, July 8, 1942," copy in AJG File 2.

[108] She died in Kingston, Jamaica, on Sunday, August 3, 1973, at the age of 77.

CONCLUSION:

From this thesis it can be seen that the UNIA had established a very strong division in Montreal. This Canadian unit goes back to the early years of the organization, and it is one of the few which survive today. This relatively long history of some sixty years encompasses periods, such as between 1919 and 1924, when it was the most powerful and influential association among Blacks in Montreal. It also includes rather lean years, such as today, when it is sustained by a few die-hard Garveyites.

The precise number of people who belonged to the division was hard to ascertain. In terms of dues-paying members, the figure never exceeded 100 at any given time. This can be misleading, however, because many individuals, who considered themselves members and participated in the activities of the division, did not pay the stipulated dues regularly, if at all. In addition to that fact, the membership books and lists show that many more people belonged to the division than can be justified by the criterion of the regular and consistent payment of dues. Finally, the number of members, dues-paying or otherwise, was small in comparison with the many black Montrealers who came under the influence of the division during its heyday. As many a veteran resident of this city has testified, Sunday mornings were set aside for church services, and the rest of the day belonged to the UNIA and its functions at Liberty Hall.

The membership was largely West Indian in origin, as has been the case with other divisions in cities such as New York, Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The significance of this finding is hard to assess because the majority of people of African descent, who were living in this city at that time, was also of West Indian background. The membership of the division, therefore, reflected the composition of the black population of Montreal in this regard.

With respect to the social status of the membership, the overwhelming majority of Garveyites in Montreal belonged to the working class. Again, this accurately reflected the position of the people of African descent living in this city at the time. Their places of residence, the type of jobs that the working members did, and their general educational level that one could gauge by studying their writings and related evidence, place them securely in that category. Other studies done on the UNIA also come to the same conclusion with respect to social status.

It is noteworthy, however, that almost all the black Montrealers who had the equivalent of a college education and above were members of the UNIA and, in most cases, very active leaders, at least during the glory days of the organization. These included individuals such as Dr. D.D. Lewis, the third president of the division, Dr. K.I. Melville, the prominent Mc Gill University professor and renowned pharmacologist, and Rev. Charles H. Este, the revered minister of Union Church, Montreal's

oldest black congregation. The only black Montrealers who, apparently snubbed the UNIA, were members of the "four hundreds", who, in spite of their pretensions, nevertheless, belonged to the working class. The working members of that ill-defined group held jobs similar to those in which the majority of UNIA members were engaged, and they lived in the same general locality, the city below the hill called Little Burgundy today. Even in the case of the "four hundreds", one must exercise care when stating that its adherents snubbed the UNIA. This is brought out by the fact that one of the leading figures in that group was Mrs. Georgie O'Brien who played such an active role in the UNIA. The reader will recall that, on more than one occasion, she headed the Ladies' Division. In addition, she was one of the two delegates to the famous 1920 international convention which was held in New York City. A few others of the "four hundreds" also supported the Montreal Division.

The Garveyites of this city adhered very closely to the most important tenets of UNIA philosophy including a strong belief in pride and love of race, a universal confraternity of black people, self-reliance, and Africa as the ancestral and rightful home of all Blacks. The last was often expressed by the catch phrase, "Africa for the Africans, those at home and those abroad", and it was usually associated with the idea of a "return to the Motherland" by the Africans abroad. Wherever possible, the division tried to implement these ideals and put them into

practice.

Examples of Montreal's adherence to these principles include the determination with which the members sought to realize their long-held dream of owning their own home. To them, this was an important application of the principle of self-reliance. In their Liberty Hall, they preached the doctrine of African redemption and related concepts, and they made financial contributions towards that end. They stressed "Negroism" and downplayed West Indian insularity and particularism, as well as its North American equivalent sometimes referred to as "nativism". They participated in activities such as coming to the aid of Ethiopia when that country was invaded by Italy in 1935. They also were represented at the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture held in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1977. Given the financial, social, political, and geographical circumstances in which the division found itself, this manner of expressing adherence to the philosophical tenet of an international confraternity among Blacks everywhere was probably the only one available to members of the Montreal Division. With respect to the idea of a return to the Motherland, only one person, as far as is known, actually did go to live in Africa. He was Dr. Samuel I. T. Wills who migrated to Nigeria. Not many Africans abroad ever returned to that continent under the auspices of the UNIA because of several difficulties inherent in such a project. These included the opposition which the colonial powers in Africa placed in the way of the UNIA. The

great cost, financial as well as human, involved in such a move also militated against its implementation.

The division carried out activities and organized auxiliary units in keeping with the provisions laid down by the Parent Body and consistent with UNIA practice. Meetings were held on a regular basis to plan and put into effect the programme and business of the association. The Sunday Mass Meetings, which were among the most significant activities of the group, turned out to be among the most attractive features in the life of black Montrealers. Not only were they instructed in the philosophy and work of the UNIA, but they were also informed about developments regarding people of African descent in other parts of the world. In addition, they were treated to concert programmes involving local as well as foreign talent. Veteran Garveyites point with pride to two of their proteges, Oscar Peterson and Percy Rodgrigues, who went on to become star performers on the international entertainment scene. They both got their start in Liberty Hall, Montreal.

Other activities of a recreational and entertainment nature included dances, "socials", and various types of parties which the division organized throughout the year. Many of these became highpoints on the social calendar of black Montrealers. Not many, for example, missed the grand balls held in Liberty Hall, nor did they fail to patronize the annual excursion-picnic, the venue of which became Otterburn Park in St. Hilaire, a few miles to the south of the city. This very popular summer social

event had something for every member of the family. For the seniors there were dancing and drinking. For the juniors there were athletic events and games. For all there were good food in abundance, fresh air, and pleasant company. One of the athletes, who participated and excelled in the track and field events, Corinne Cooper, went on to become Canada's leading female sprinter in the period just before the Second World War.

The activities of the division were not restricted to organizational, social, recreational and entertainment matters. In fact, one of the major preoccupations of the association involved education. From quite early in its history, the Montreal UNIA concerned itself with the education of people of African descent living in this city as well as in the Caribbean and in Africa. As a result, remedial programmes, vocational courses, and general academic work were conducted at various times in Liberty Hall. The division also helped Caribbean and African Blacks to study in Canada by awarding them scholarships as well as by negotiating with the immigration authorities. These ways of helping students were very important, especially as those from Africa usually had difficulties meeting the requirements of the Canadian immigration authorities without assistance from the UNIA.

In one sense these educational programmes were successful. Those who attended the "schools" set up in Liberty Hall did, to some degree, upgrade their knowledge and skills. Those who received scholarships did graduate from the colleges and universities which

they had attended. In the case of the first group, the students who had concentrated on the vocational subjects did not enjoy any noticeable benefit as far as improvement in job opportunities was concerned. They all did profit from attending those classes in other ways, however. As for the scholars from Africa, they did not fulfill the most important part of the programme which called for the establishment of a meaningful and permanent link between those Africans at home and those abroad in Montreal. As far as the available evidence shows, they took all that they could get and ran.

Among the auxiliaries established by the Montreal Division were units of the Universal African Black Cross Nurses, the Universal African Legion, a Juvenile Branch, Literary Club, and Boys' Band. The success or failure of these units depended on the resources, human and otherwise, of the division as a whole as well as of the respective auxiliary, and the relevance of their programmes and activities. The Literary Club, for example, was allowed to establish its own priorities. It chose to concentrate on areas which were well within the experience, education and interest of its members and was, as a result, a highly successful unit. It organized dances, concerts, and the like, as well as educational programmes including the establishment of a speaker's forum from which prominent members of the organization and other outstanding people addressed the Montreal community. Its little library was also a success largely because it was greatly needed in the area and the main driving force behind it, Miss L. De Shields, was experienced in running such a unit.

The experience of the Black Cross Nurses and the African Legion was in marked contrast to that of the Literary Club. The first two groups had their roles carefully defined for them in the constitution of the organization and were, therefore, restricted to them. They did not succeed at all in their major roles because they demanded education, skills, and related qualifications which were not available to the members. In the case of the African Legion, the activities which were set aside for it were incompatible with the traditions and demands of Canadian society. As a result, the Black Cross Nurses did not go beyond the stage of putting on dances and organizing raffles, while the African Legion, as far as is known, is remembered mostly as a type of security guard unit to ensure that members did not go too far after they had imbibed more than their share of liquor at the summer picnic.

The Montreal Division also made important and memorable contributions to the development and survival of the UNIA as a whole. Almost from the beginning of the organization, this Canadian unit showed that it was determined to ensure that the Parent Body functioned successfully. Thus, at the first international convention, the delegates from this city made their presence felt in the councils of the organization. It was shown, for example, that its president, Dr. D.D. Lewis, made several inputs to the discussion and challenged Marcus Garvey for the key post of President General and Provisional President of Africa. Although he was unsuccessful, Dr. Lewis left his mark on the delegates.

The precedent set by Dr. D.D. Lewis and Mrs. Georgie O'Brien, the other delegate to that convention, was followed by other Montreal representatives at conferences and conventions of the general organization. It continues to this very day even though the division is only a shadow of its former self.

Perhaps the most important contribution made by Montreal and, indeed, Canada to the UNIA as a whole occurred between the time that Garvey was deported from the U.S.A. and his death in 1940. It was in Toronto that the President General met with his American followers who came from various parts of the U.S.A. to meet their chief. It was also in Toronto that the final international convention to be called before Garvey's death was actually held. While the venue of these meetings was Toronto, the Montreal Division played an important role in helping to make them possible. Indeed, the president of the Toronto Division, B. Spencer Pitt, seldom made a move without first consulting his Montreal counterpart and good friend, E.J. Tucker.

This cooperation between Montreal and Toronto in the interest of the organization, continued after the death of Garvey, culminating in the formation of the Rehabilitating Committee which saved the UNIA from destruction resulting from the maladministration of Garvey's successor, James R. Stewart. Montreal was one of the founding units of this committee, and it provided some of the executive officers including E.J. Tucker and Elaine Pierre. The latter became the secretary general at a crucial time

when the Rehabilitating Committee was in danger of splitting into rival factions.

Another aspect of the relationship between the Montreal Division and the central body was illustrated by the closeness which existed between Garvey, his family and his followers in this city. It will be recalled that Garvey came to Montreal sometime in 1917, i.e. about one year after he had first set foot on U.S. soil. It seems as if he had fallen in love with this city, because he kept returning to it whether for business or for pleasure. On occasions he brought along his second wife, Amy Jacques. When he died, she continued this love affair with the city and its division.

The widow sought and obtained the psychological and other support of the Montreal Garveyites. The latter were ever solicitous for the well-being of Mrs. Garvey and her fatherless sons to whom, on occasions, they sent sums of money. They castigated the Stewart administration for its neglect of the widow and her children. It is not surprising, therefore, that Montreal was given considerable thought when the time came for the children to pursue their education at the university level. The second son, Julius, actually chose Montreal and Mc Gill University. At the request of Mrs. Garvey, Mr. Tucker and the Montreal Garveyites played a prominent role in the entire process.

In addition to the above, other points stand out in this study. One of these, for example, argues against the suggestion that the Blacks in Montreal and in Canada, as a whole, constituted

an isolated minority tucked away, as it were, in this far-northern country. Not only did the membership of the city's division consist of people who, for the most part, were born in the West Indies and maintained communications with their kith and kin who remained behind, but not a few of them came to Canada via Cuba, Panama, and other countries in Latin America. They were travellers. In addition, their membership in the UNIA and their subscription to the Negro World kept them in touch with people and events throughout the world. As many worked on the railroads and some on boats which plied the seven seas, communications with other people, especially of African descent elsewhere, were regularly maintained. This helps to explain their reaction to events such as the invasion of Ethiopia by the forces of Mussolini.

It is also clear from this study that the UNIA, both the Montreal Division and the Parent Body, was a well-organized institution which stressed the need for and the importance of discipline among the membership. The many documents which came from the Parent Body to Montreal, emphasizing these points, illustrate that the association was not hapzardly run, depending on the will or mood of Marcus Garvey. The fact that individuals both at the level of the Montreal Division and headquarters lacked discipline and violated the constitution does not refute the point. One must observe the many thousands who maintained discipline and exhibited a good sense of organization, for they greatly outnumbered the others.

It will not be an exaggeration to state that it was this sense of discipline and degree of organization which kept the ass-

ociation, both at the Montreal Division and Parent Body level, from falling apart in the face of the many serious crises which they both had to face. The leaders of both the division and international body built on the solid foundation of discipline and organization. Thus, when the storms came and the winds blew against it, the edifice that is the UNIA stood firm.

Another interesting point which emerged from this study concerns the democratic nature of the Montreal Division and the Parent Body. After reading certain accounts of the association, one is sometimes left with the impression that Garvey had established a regressive type of dictatorship slightly to the left of Atilla the Hun. This impression probably results from the fact that far too many studies give undue prominence to the superficial, although necessary, aspects of the movement such as the various titles and decorations which were conferred on outstanding members, and the uniforms and drills of certain auxiliaries. Studying the documents, however, and speaking to people who actually participated in the life of the UNIA during its heyday and afterwards, it is clear that democracy was the philosophy which prevailed at conferences, conventions, and meetings of divisions, including Montreal. Decisions were arrived at only after long and exhaustive debates which allowed almost everyone to have an input. No one person, including the leader, was able to impose his viewpoint on the people present, whether it was a divisional meeting, a regional conference, or an international convention. There was

always room for the dissenting voice which, sometimes, emerged as the decision of the council. In fact, one of the most serious indictments against Stewart was his disregard for the democratic process to which Garveyites had become accustomed. The fact that a Garvey or a Tucker stood out at the international or divisional level was a reflection of the personality and stature of such a person rather than the result of any dictatorial tendencies in the UNIA.

During this study, it became apparent that certain areas need clarification and could become subjects for further scholarly work. The need for studies on the other Canadian Divisions, especially the very active and formerly large unit in Toronto, is certainly quite obvious. The western groups, such as those which existed in Alberta, are of great interest to this student, if only because of the desire to know whether or not the membership was largely West Indian in nature. It is known that those black Alberta communities were founded by American Negroes who migrated to those areas when the West was being peopled during the Laurier era.

Studies dealing with the Parent Body after the death of Marcus Garvey in 1940 are also necessary if one is to get a fuller picture of the organization and its divisions. In pursuing this work, it became quite evident that the organization carried on, with relative effectiveness, after Garvey had been removed from the scene. The Montrealers and others were so imbued with the spirit and philosophy of the founder that they were determined to

do their best to complete the work which he had begun. They wished to vindicate him. In spite of this, one has to search, with extreme diligence, to find any serious study on the movement dating from 1940 to the present.

There is also a crying need for detailed studies of the many other organizations which Blacks established in Montreal over the last 75 to 100 years. Institutions such as Union Church and the Colored Women's Club come to mind. The many fraternal and benevolent associations, such as the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows and the Household of Ruth, have played important roles in the lives of black Montrealers. The start made by Don Handelman in 1964 must be followed up so that more light could be thrown on these organizations. One area of immediate interest concerns the demise of many of these groups. Is this the result of their becoming irrelevant since the practical functions that they performed are now taken over by the Canadian welfare state system? Is their decline also related to the fact that their social functions are now available in the many Montreal clubs and associations which are open to people of African descent? Could it be that the older members did not encourage their children to support these societies so that there was no continuity established? Answers to these questions would be of great value in trying to understand more fully the decline of the Montreal UNIA.

Other topics, which call for further scholarly attention, include the development of labour unions among Blacks who worked

for the railroads and the part played by the UNIA in this movement, as well as the role of the West Indian in the development of black nationalism and radicalism on an international scale, and a careful study of the migration of people of African descent into Canada, within Canada and, finally, out of this country. Some of these problems may prove difficult to investigate. There is little doubt, however, that the findings which would emerge from them would more than reward those brave enough undertake their study and analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTE ON SOURCES

This thesis is based principally on primary manuscript and primary oral sources which are housed in the archives of the ACHA, 115 Deslauriers, Pierrefonds, P.Q., Canada. The UNIA holdings of the ACHA consist of letters, memoranda, bulletins, record books of various kinds, interview notes and tapes, photographs, memorabilia such as medals, trophies, musical instruments, membership certificates, flags, and the like. These source materials date from 1917 to the present time, and they represent an almost complete record of the life and activities of the Montreal Division of the UNIA.

In preparing this study, I visited other well-known centres with large holdings in Black History. These include the famous Schomburg Center in Harlem, New York, the Moorland Collection of Howard University, Washington, D.C., and the Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica. As my thesis deals with Montreal and as the holdings in these institutes are on the organization in general and a few local units, there was not much information of relevance to my topic.

I did not visit the Marcus Garvey Papers Project at the Center For Afro-American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. I have received communication from the researchers there, and this has led me to conclude that their holdings, at the present time, would not add to or subtract from my thesis. In the

first place, they were not aware that there was a strong UNIA division in Montreal, and they are asking me to send them documents. In the second place, their research ends in 1940, when Garvey died, A significant part of this thesis goes beyond that date.

The documents and other source materials in the ACHA were not catalogued and arranged by a professional librarian or archivist. As a result, the classification system may not conform to the style, fashions and standards to which one may have grown accustomed. It was considered important to utilize a simple, practical method which would not lead to confusion. The result is reflected in the bibliographical entries which have been noted according to the manner in which they appear in the files and on the shelves of the archives.

Some of the people interviewed for this study are now, unfortunately, dead. Mr. E.J. Tucker is easily the most important among the many persons interviewed because of his long association with the organization and his remarkable memory. On January 25 of this year, he was 91 years old. Not many wished to have their interviews on tape. As a result, only Mr. Tucker, F.J. Langdon, O.N. Daniels, C. Ashby and Mrs. A. Packwood have been recorded in this manner. The salient points raised by the others are on note cards and paper.

Address File 1 contains letters, receipts and other documents to show that the division was once located at 308 Aqueduct Street.

Address File 2 contains letters, receipts, statements and other documents to show that the division was once located at 153 Guy Street.

Address File 3 contains bills, lease, solemn declaration and other documents to show that the division was once located at 134 Chatham Street.

African Redemption Fund File contains flyers and letters on the ARF.

Auditor's (Audit) File contains auditor's report for 1921, 1922, and 1923.

Black Cross Nurses Minutes Book records meetings from 29 March, 1921, to 26 June, 1924.

Boys' Band Note 1 contains information on the purpose of the band and on fund-raising.

Boys' Band Committee File contains the minutes of meetings held by this committee.

Collins, Ethel File contains personal letters between Ms. Collins, former Secretary General of the UNIA, and Montreal.

Conference, First North American Regional, File contains letters and report of this conference held in Toronto in 1936.

Conference, Second North American Regional, File contains letters, "Official Minutes", flyers, Montreal delegate's report, relevant copy of The Black Man and other items dealing with this conference held in Toronto in 1937.

Conference, 1940 Emergency, File contains letters and Pitt's report on this meeting which chose James R. Stewart to succeed Marcus Garvey.

Conference, 1941 Regional, File contains letters, souvenir programme, and other documents of this meeting held in Cleveland.

Conference, 1978, File contains letters, clippings and other documents of this meeting held in Kingston, Jamaica.

Convention, First International (1920). File contains correspondence regarding this convention.

Convention, Second International (1921). File contains correspondence regarding this convention.

Convention, Third International (1922). File contains letters, flyers and subscription lists.

Convention, Cancelled (1923) File contains documents such as letters, flyers, and subscription lists of this proposed convention which was never held.

Convention, Fourth International (1924). File contains notes compiled from the Negro World.

Convention, Fifth International (1925). File contains notes compiled from the Negro World.

Convention, Sixth International (1929). File contains notes, letters, subscription lists and convention hymn book.

Convention, Seventh International (1934). File contains The Blackman, Vol. 1, No. 6, November 1934, which carries accounts of this convention.

Convention, Eighth International (1938). File contains letters, flyers, delegates' documents and notes as well as the July, 1938, November, 1938, and February, 1939, issues of The Black Man which carried articles on this convention.

Convention, Ninth International (1942). File contains letters, proposed convention agenda, flyers, delegate's card, and a report.

Da Costa-Hall Files 1 to 4 contain letters, articles, student records, and other material on this educational project.

Diplomatic File 1 contains correspondence and documents concerning International Organizers Henrietta Vinton Davis and L. T. De Mena.

Diplomatic File 2 contains correspondence and documents concerning High Commissioners to Canada, G.D. Creese and H. Langdon.

Diplomatic File 3 contains travel documents, letters of recommendations and other consular documents.

Diplomatic File 4 contains correspondence and other material such as general instructions pertaining to the office of the High Commissioner General.

Education File 1 contains students' work in English Language.

Education File 2 contains students' work in Arithmetic.

Education File 3 contains documents pertaining to UNIA education programmes prior to Da Costa-Hall.

Education File 4 contains letters and other documents relating to the establishment of the UNIA Scholarship Fund.

Education File 5 contains records with respect to the payment of scholars' fees and related matters.

Education File 6 contains documents pertaining to immigration, applications and related matters.

Education File 7 contains documents relating to Rita Falls.

Education File 8 contains documents relating to Simon Gichuru.

Education File 9 contains documents relating to George Ndungu Mwicigi.

Education File 10 contains documents relating to Raphael Njoroge.

Education File 11 contains documents pertaining to the UNIA handicraft classes.

Education File 12 contains documents pertaining to other students such as Simeon Macharia and Helen Ifezue.

Education File 13, the disappointment file, contains documents pertaining to those students who did not live up to UNIA expectations.

Education File 14 contains lists of the African scholars who were studying in Canada in 1953 as a result of UNIA help.

Education File 15 contains documents pertaining to John Karefa and Rena Smart.

Education File 16 contains documents pertaining to Bennett Ifezue.

Ethiopia File contains letters, clippings, posters and other documents relating to UNIA support of Ethiopia against Mussolini and his fascists.

Ethiopian Funds Account Book contains records of money collected to aid Ethiopia.

Festac 77 A File contains news releases put out by the Ottawa government and the National Black Coalition of Canada.

Festac 77 B File contains reports by the National Black Coalition on the preparation for participation in the festival.

Festac 77 G File contains correspondence between O.N.E. Osuji and the UNIA in Montreal and the Parent Body.

Fund Raising File contains subscription lists, receipts, and other documents relative to fund-raising activities carried out by the division.

Garvey, Amy Jacques, File 1 contains documents pertaining to support she received from UNIA after her husband's death.

Garvey, Amy Jacques, File 2 contains documents pertaining to her assessment of Garveyites after the death of her husband.

Garvey, Amy Jacques, File 6 contains letters, newspaper clippings and other material pertaining to the progress of her children.

Garvey, Amy Jacques, File 7 contains newspaper clippings about her husband and other UNIA matters.

Garvey, Marcus, in Montreal File contains correspondence and notes pertaining to Garvey's visits to Montreal.

Garvey Arrest and Trial File contains letters, flyers and other documents on that subject.

Garvey Defence Fund File contains letters, flyers, subscription lists on that subject.

Garvey, Marcus, Death of File 1 contains letters and other documents pertaining to Garvey's illness and death.

Garvey, Marcus, Death of File 2 contains telegrams reporting the last hours and death of Garvey.

Garvey, Marcus, Death of File 3 contains letters, flyers, and souvenir programmes of memorial services.

Garvey, Marcus, Death of File 4 contains letters and other documents dealing with the premature announcement of Garvey's death.

Ghana File contains letters, reports, newspaper clippings, telegrams and other documents pertaining to the UNIA relationship with that country.

Government File contains documents pertaining to the relations between the division and the municipal, provincial, and federal governments.

History File 1 contains documents dealing with the early administration and development of the division.

History File 2 contains the original letters which deal with the establishment of the division.

Incorporation File 1 contains letters and other documents pertaining to early attempts at incorporating the division.

Incorporation File 2 contains documents showing that the division became incorporated.

Incorporation File 5 contains documents to show that the property purchased by the division was legally owned by it.

Insurance File 1 contains letters, policies, and other documents pertaining to insurance coverage for division's property.

Ledger 1 covers the period from July, 1920, to May, 1926.

Ledger 2 covers the period from July, 1926, to December, 1934.

Ledger 4 covers the period from August 1935 to December, 1939.

Ledger 5 summarizes the various accounts such as the ones belonging to the Black Cross Nurses and the Literary Club.

Literary Club File contains letters, reports and other documents pertaining to that auxiliary.

Membership Book 1 contains the names of members in the early 1920's.

Membership Book 2 contains the names of members in the 1930's.

Membership Book 3 contains the names of members in the 1940's.

Membership Certificate Files contain 47 certificates dating from 1919 to 1928.

Membership File 1 contains 45 completed application forms.

Membership File 2 contains pledge taken by members and greetings extended to new members.

Membership File 3 contains notes on the decline in membership.

Membership File 4 contains letters from Parent Body on special subjects such as membership drives.

Membership File 5 contains documents pertaining to the early leadership of the division and elections.

Membership File 6 contains information on loans, gifts, and related matters to members of the division.

Minutes Book 1 covers the period from 13 January, 1926, to March 10, 1931.

Minutes Book 2 covers the period from March 10, 1931, to February 2, 1941.

Minutes Book 3 covers the period from April 8, 1943, to December 2, 1962.

Minutes Files, Special, contain minutes of meetings which were recorded on loose leaves and are not in the regular minutes books.

Monthly Report Files or Monthly Report and Statement Files contain information on membership and finance sent to Parent Body.

Orchestra File contains material pertaining to that auxiliary.

Parent Body File 1 contains information on the location of the headquarters of the organization.

Philosophy File contains notes, letters and other material pertaining to the philosophy of the organization.

Picnic and Excursion File 1 contains information on these activities which took place before the division chose Otterburn Park as its picnic grounds.

Picnic and Excursion File 2 contains flyers, letters and other documents pertaining to these activyties between 1921 and 1935.

Picnic and Excursion File 3 contains letters, flyers and other documents pertaining to these activities between 1935 and 1940.

Picnic and Excursion File 4 contains documents on moonlight, boat and bus excursions.

Picnic Programmes.

Pitt, Mary, File contains letters exchanged between Mary Pitt, wife of B.S. Pitt, and the Montreal Division and the Tuckers.

Property File 1 contains the deed of sale of UNIA property from Vital Baby to Jean Baptiste Vanier on April 19, 1906.

Property File 2 contains the deed of sale of said property from Jean Baptiste Vanier to E.J. Tucker, B. Pitt, and F. McKenzie.

Property File 3 contains the deed of sale of said property from J. Sederoff and R. Wasserman to UNIA on Feb. 6, 1976.

Property File 4 contains letters, reports, real estate agents' correspondence and related documents pertaining to the November, 1943, purchase of the Georges Vanier Boulvard property.

Property File 5 contains 1953 mortgage of UNIA property and receipts for repayment of same.

Property File 6 contains Pitt's November 14, 1943, report recommending that the UNIA purchase the Vanier property as well as the minutes of special meetings held in the fall of 1943 on the same subject.

Property File 7 or Fund Raising File 2 contains letters, promissory notes and repayment of loans given by members to purchase the Vanier property.

Rehabilitating Committee File 1 contains letters and the minutes of the first meeting held in New York on September 26 and 27, 1942. This was the founding meeting.

Rehabilitating Committee File 2 contains letters and the minutes of the second meeting held in New York on December 25, 26, and 27, 1942.

Rehabilitating Committee File 3 contains a copy of the declaration issued by this committee explaining why it came into being.

Rehabilitating Committee File 4 contains correspondence from 1944 to 1950.

Rehabilitating Committee File 5 contains letters of appointment to various offices and related matter.

Rehabilitating Committee File 6 contains letters and documents relating to problems within the committee.

Rehabilitating Committee 1943 Meeting File contains agenda, major resolution passed at that meeting, and letters pertaining to it.

Rehabilitating Committe 1944 Montreal Conference File contains letters, programme and other documents related to this meeting.

Sick and Charitable Fund File also called Death Benefit File contains letters and other documents pertaining to needy ill members and the next of kin of dead members. It also contains documents which explain the UNIA policy with respect to the administration of the Death Benefit Fund.

Social and Economic Conditions File contains documents describing the circumstances of the black community during the Great Depression between World War 1 and II.

South Africa File also called Azania File contains letters, telegrams, reports, and other documents pertaining to the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre as well as others dealing with that country.

Stewart, James R. File contains letters and other documents pertaining to the man who succeeded Marcus Garvey in 1940.

Sunday Mass Meetings Files 1 and 2 contain letters, reports, flyers, agenda and other documents relating to this activity.

Transfer File 1 contains documents pertaining to the difficulties the division had with Pitt over transferring the title of the property to the UNIA.

Transfer File 2 contains the legal document which proves that the Georges Vanier Street property finally belonged to the division.

Universal Negro Youth Administration File also called the Juvenile File contains documents pertaining to those two auxiliaries.

Whyte, Daisy File contains documents pertaining to Ms. Whyte as well as to the last days of Marcus Garvey.

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Minutes of the UNIA Chicago, 1952, Conference.

Minutes of the International Convention of the UNIA held in Philadelphia, August, 1955.

Minutes of the Thirteenth International Convention of the UNIA held in Philadelphia, August 1957.

Minutes of the Fourteenth International Convention of the UNIA held in Brooklyn, New York, August, 1961.

Souvenir Programme of the 1947 Conference held by the Rehabilitating Committee of the UNIA in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Souvenir Programme of the 1958 Convention held by the Rehabilitating Committee of the UNIA in Detroit.

Souvenir Programme of the 1955 International Convention Held in Philadelphia.

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Souvenir Journal of the 1979 Convention of the UNIA and ACL held in Philadelphia.

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PRIMARY ORAL

When known, some biographical information concerning the person interviewed will be given.

Ashby, Mr. Charles, was born in Barbados. He died in Montreal in August, 1976, at the age of 85.

Barnes, Mrs. Bella (née Langford) was born in Canada. She joined the UNIA in Montreal, moved to Nova Scotia, then to Boston, and afterwards back to Nova Scotia.

Beckford, Mr. B., was born in Jamaica and died in Montreal on February 4, 1968.

Barrow, Dr. Reginald G., fourth bishop of the African Orthodox Church, was born in Barbados. He is the father of the Hon. Errol Barrow, former Prime Minister of Barbados.

Cooper, Frank, was born in Jamaica and came to Montreal. He is in his early 90's.

Cooper, Theresa, wife of Frank, was born in Jamaica. She died in January, 1976, in Montreal.

Cooper, Corinne, daughter of Frank and the late Theresa Cooper, was born in Montreal. She now lives in B.C.

Cooper, Elaine, later Mrs. Pierre, is daughter of Frank and the late Theresa Cooper. She was born in Montreal, but now lives in Detroit.

Daniels, Othni Nathaneal, was born in Barbados. He died in Montreal in March, 1978. He was in his eighties.

De Shields, Anne, later Mrs. Vaughan, at present, Mrs. Packwood, was born in Bermuda. She still lives in Montreal.

Este, Rev. Dr. Charles Humphrey, was born in Antigua. He died in Montreal in January, 1977. He was in his 80's.

Este, Clarence, brother of Rev. Este, was also born in Antigua. He still lives in Montreal.

Grant, Mr. F., was born in the West Indies. He died late in 1979.

Griffith, Martha, was born in Montreal where she still lives.

Husbands, Mr. Alan, was born in Montreal where he died, unexpectedly, in June, 1979.

Jordan, Rose, who is in her late 80's, still lives in Montreal.

Keiser, Mr. Walter, was born in Barbados. He still lives in Montreal and is in his 80's.

Lam, Mrs. Elsie, was born in Guyana. She died in Montreal in 1977.

Lam, Mr. Georgie, husband of Elsie, still lives in Montreal.

Langdon, Mr. Henry J., was born in Trinidad and migrated to Canada on April 8, 1924. He still lives in Montreal.

Lord, George, was born in the West Indies. A retired Hydro-Quebec employee, he still resides in Montreal.

Lord, Mrs. Susan, was born in Montserrat. She still resides in the Cote St. Luc area of Montreal.

Marshall, Florence, was born in Barbados on 18 December, 1891, as Florence Springer. She died in Montreal in April, 1978,

as Florence Tucker, wife of Mr. E.J. Tucker. She migrated to Canada at the age of 13, and lived in Montreal for 61 years.

Marshalleck, John, was born in Jamaica and came to Canada via Panama. He died in Montreal in December, 1977.

Packwood, Edward, was born in Guyana. He still resides in Montreal.

Patterson, Iris Lucille, was born in Kingston, Jamaica, on January 19, 1900. The niece of Adrien Daly, one of the founders of the UNIA, she still resides in Kingston, Jamaica, where she was interviewed.

Prescott, Ruth, born Ruth Peart, is the niece of Marcus Garvey and daughter of two founding members of the UNIA. She still resides in Kingston, Jamaica, where she was born.

Ruggles, J., was born in Halifax, N.S., but later moved to Montreal.

States, Roy, a native of New Glasgow, N.S., is a veteran of World War II. He now lives in Montreal.

Sweeney, Daisy née Patterson, was born in Montreal where she still lives.

Thomas, Rev. Donald, was born in St. John, N.B., but now lives in New Glasgow, N.S. A veteran of World War II, he is pastor of the Second Baptist Church of New Glasgow.

Tucker, Mr. E.J., was born in Jamaica on January 25, 1888, and came to Montreal before the outbreak of the First World War. He has been living in this city ever since that time.

Tyler, Seymour, a veteran of both world wars, is a native of St. John, New Brunswick, where he still resides.

Wellons, Mrs. Mattie, a native of the Deep South, U.S.A. came to Montreal at the turn of the century. When she died about one year ago, she was reputed to be more than 100 years old.

Wills, Mrs. Dorothy, was born in Dominica. She is the daughter-in-law of Dr. Samuel Wills. She resides in the Montreal suburb of Ville D'Anjou.

Wills, Samuel, Jr., is the eldest child of Dr. Samuel Wills. He resides in Cincinatti, Ohio.

Swift, Mr. Earle, was born in the West Indies.

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NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Amsterdam News, a black New York newspaper first published in 1909 and is still in print.

Blackman, a UNIA magazine no longer published. Black Man.

Chicago Defender, a black newspaper founded on May 5, 1905, is still being published.

Contrast, a black newspaper founded in Toronto in February, 1969, and which is still in circulation.

Crisis, the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Ebony, highly successful black monthly magazine first published in 1945 and still in circulation

Garvey's Voice, current UNIA publication first published in June, 1950.

Gazette, founded on June 3, 1778, it is currently the only English daily newspaper in Montreal.

Jamaica Advocate, published by Dr. Love, black West Indian nationalist in Kingston, Jamaica, has ceased publication.

Jamaica Daily Gleaner and its sister, Sunday Gleaner, are still being published in that country.

Jamaica Daily News is still in circulation in that nation.

Jamaica Star, with its sister, Week-End Star, are still published in that country.

Jamaica Times.

Manchester Guardian, England.

Messenger, socialist magazine of black Garvey critics, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen.

Montreal Daily Star, later Montreal Star, folded in 1979 after a prolonged strike followed by reduced circulation.

Negro World, the famous UNIA newspaper which began in 1918, but is no longer published. It died in 1933.

New Jamaican, a Garvey periodical no longer published.

New Negro World, a UNIA periodical put out by the James R. Stewart administration in 1940 which lasted only a few years.

New York Crusader, magazine edited by Cyril Briggs, a former UNIA supporter who became a bitter foe of the organization and its founder.

New York Herald.

New York News.

New York Sun.

New York Times.

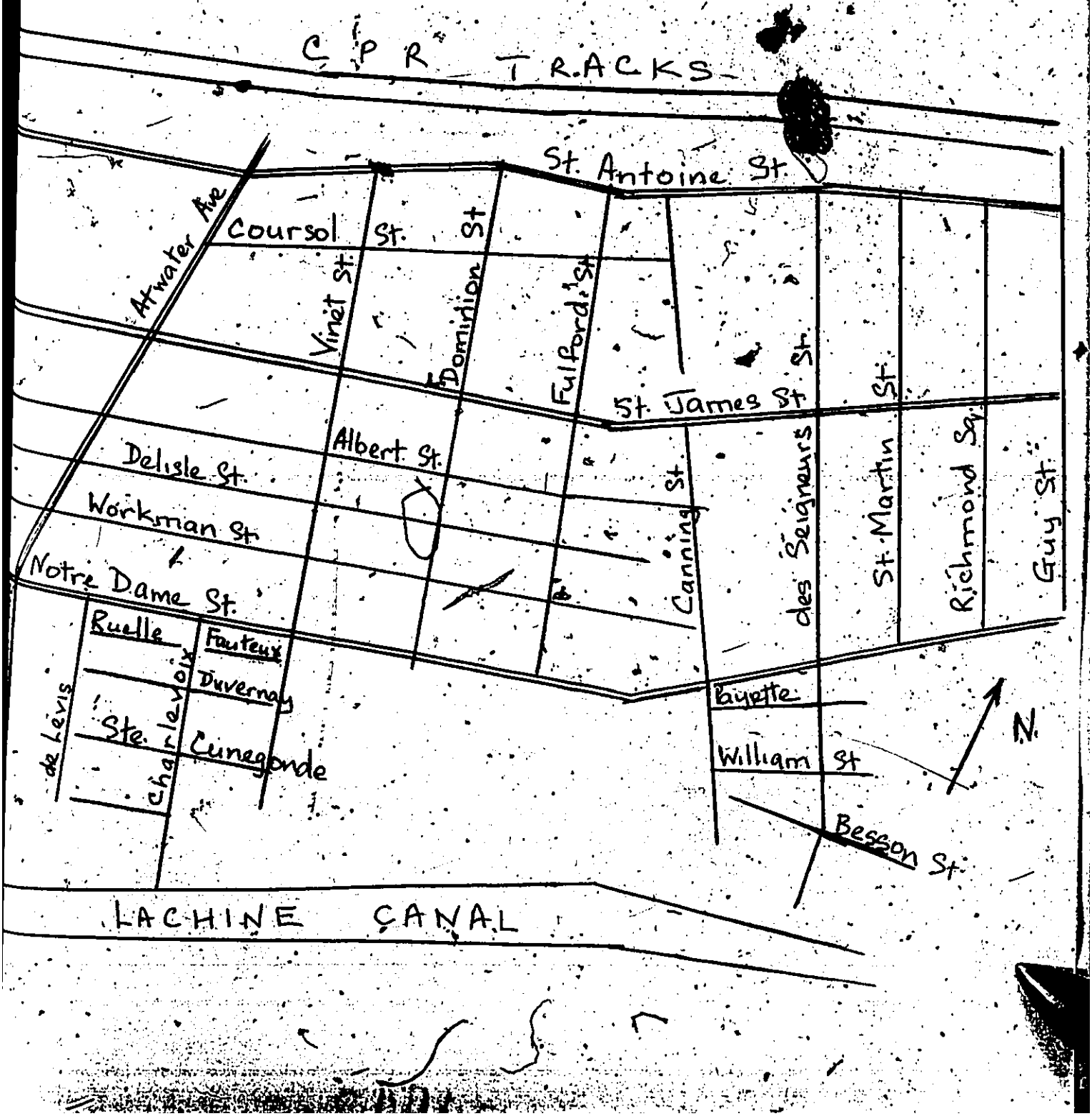
New York World.

Sunday Times, Lagos, Nigeria.

United Church Record and Missionary Review, organ of the United Church of Canada.

APPENDIX II

BLACK MONTREAL IN
THE 1920'S



APPENDIX 2

UNIA HYMNS, SONGS, ANTHEMS

THE UNIVERSAL ETHIOPIAN ANTHEM[1]

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,
Thou land where the gods loved to be,
As storm cloud at night sudden gathers
Our armies come rushing to thee,
We must in the fight be victorious,
When swords are thrust outward to glean;
For us will the vict'ry be glorious
When led by the red, black and green.

CHORUS

Advance, advance to victory,
Let Africa be free;
Advance to meet the foe
With the might
Of the red, the black and the green.

Ethiopia, the tyrant's falling,
Who smote thee upon thy knees
And thy children are lustily calling
From over the distant seas.
Jehovah the Great One has heard us,
Has noted our sighs and our tears,
With His spirit of Love he has stirred us
To be one through the coming years.

O, Jehovah, thou God of the ages
Grant unto our sons that lead
The wisdom Thou gave Thy sages
When Israel was sore in need.
Thy voice thro' the dim past has spoken,
Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand,
By Thee shall all fetters be broken
And Heav'n bless our dear mother land.

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[1]The 1918 Constitution, p. 80. This is the National Anthem of the UNIA. The 1920 convention resolved that it be adopted as "the anthem of the Negro Race." See Phil. and Opin., Vol. 2, p. 140.

FROM GREENLAND'S ICY MOUNTAINS[2]

From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,
Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand;
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain.

Shall we whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation, O Salvation
The joyful sounds proclaim;
Till earth' remotest nation
Has learned Messiah's name.

Waft, waft, ye winds His story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole.
Till o'er our ransomed nature
The Lamb for sinners slain,
Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss returns to reign.

O AFRICA AWAKEN[3]

O Africa awaken!
The morning is at hand.
No more art thou forsaken
O bounteous motherland,
From far thy sons and daughters
Are hast'ning back to thee,
Their cry rings o'er the waters
That Afric shall be free.

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[2]This hymn is used to open UNIA meetings. See 1918 Constitution, p. 77.

[3]The words were written by Arnold J. Ford. The Barbados-born Garveyite was the musical director of the UNIA. He was also a Rabbi.

REFRAIN

O Africa awaken!
And hear thy children's cries,
O Africa awaken!
To God lift up thine eyes.

O bright and glorious country
From whence the Sons of God,
Were called to foreign boundry
To bear the chast'ning rod;
Torn from thy blessed shelter,
We all have suffered loss,
Beneath the lash to welter
And made to bear the cross.

O land of tropic splendor,
Of bright blue skies above,
To thee our best we tender,
O land of light and love.
Some day we'll know thy story.
We'll drink thy cup of mirth,
Revive thine ancient glory,
And bring the gods to earth.

GOD BLESS OUR PRESIDENT[4]

Father of all creation
Allah Omnipotent,
Supreme o'er every Nation,
God Bless our President.

Guide him thro' life victorious,
Save him from accident
Grant him his aims most glorious,
God Bless our President.

The tyrants' wiles shall never,
Our homes asunder rent,
The Red, Black and Green forever,
God Bless our President.

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[4]Both words and music were written by Arnold J. Ford. This song was usually sung at the end of the meeting or conference. Ford also wrote "God bless our Potentate" or "Potentate's Hymn".

One God, our firm endeavor,
One Aim, most glorious bent,
One Destiny forever,
God Bless our President.

APPENDIX 3

PITT'S 1941 RECOMMENDATIONS[5]

(1) That the 1941 conference take the necessary steps to arrange for the calling of the 1942 Convention to be held for not more than 10 days commencing about Saturday, August 15, 1942 to about the 24th inclusive.

(2) That this conference adopt a tentative agenda setting for the subject matter for discussion on each day of the 1942 convention.

(3) That notification of the proposed 1942 convention together with the proposed agenda be forwarded through the office of the Secretary General to the respective locals no later than February 1st, 1942.

(4) That the 1942 convention be held in the City of New York and the Garvey Club or all the New York locals be hosts of the 1942 convention.

(5) Thal all division be requested to send in any and all proposed resolutions to the secretary General dealing with any and all proposed amendments to the constitution not later than July 1st, 1942, such proposed resolution to be tabulated by the Secretary General for the presentation at the convention.

(6) That all grievances charges, dissatisfaction, and complaints of the various locals be submitted in writing by each local division to the Secretary General not later than July 1st, 1942, the same to be tabulated and presented to the convention by the Secretary General.

(7) That this conference empower the President General and office of the Parent Body to immediately and officially communicate with the advance division, the African pioneering syndicate in. and the Federation of Street Speakers Sponsors of a proposed mass meeting for Sunday, August 17, 1941, at the Elks Auditorium, New York City imploring them in the interest of

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[5]Note that these recommendations are copied accurately from the text. Inconsistencies in punctuation and the like are repeated.

unity and a more effective organization, not to forward resolutions or telegrams as mentioned in their advertisement for said meeting, on the 17th, to Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt, as being premature and untimely and that they should await before making any represation [sic] to Mr. Churchill or the President of the U.S.A. or any one on behalf of the U.N.I.A., a conference with Parent Body, Officers.